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The Interstate Oil Compact—Theory and Practice

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Within recent years, the subject of intergovernmental cooperation in the United States has attracted much attention, attributable in general to certain realities of the American federal system. In many fields of governmental activity, the operation of state and national governments as independent entities has been found impracticable under modern conditions. As a result, the development and application of cooperative techniques has been rapid, a trend that is often referred to as "the rise of a new federalism."

A procedure that has contributed to the creation of the new system is that of interstate agreement through compact. The indirect authorization of interstate compacts by the Federal Constitution in Article I, Section 10, has led to numerous agreements between the states since 1789. Nevertheless, only recently have compacts been advanced as important instruments of government. During most of its history the compact device has been used principally for the solution of relatively simple problems, such as the settlement of boundary disputes and the construction of interstate bridges. The increased interest of recent years, however, has resulted in an optimistic advocacy of the compact method as ideally suited to handling some of the social and economic problems involved in the federal-state jurisdictional conflict.¹

¹ The general history of interstate compacts is adequately set forth in the following studies: Felix Frankfurter and J. M. Landis, "The Compact Clause of the Constitution—A Study in Interstate Adjustments," *Yale Law Review*, XXXIV (1925), 685; Arthur J. Macmahon, "Interstate Compacts," *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, IV, 109; and Northcutt Ely, *Oil Conservation Through Interstate Agreement* (1933).

Despite such enthusiastic championing of interstate compacts, not all opinion has been favorable. Critics have pointed out that past experience with these agreements has been of such a limited nature that few, if any, inferences can be drawn from it to support an extended use of the device for dealing with complex present-day problems. Furthermore, it is charged that the interstate compact process is inherently cumbersome and subject to prolonged delay, and eventual ineffectiveness, through the action of politics, pressure groups, and economic interrelationships.²

Thus have advocates and skeptics attempted within recent years to foretell the future of the compact technique, at times along general lines, but often in relation to specific problems. One of the topics around which this discussion has ranged is the conservation of natural resources. In particular has the compact been advanced as a means for the conservation of oil and gas.³ The history of this idea is an interesting one, but much too complex for adequate treatment here. For this reason, it is the Oil Compact as finally adopted and its operation over a five-year period that is the subject of the following pages.

On August 27, 1935, *An Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas*, to which six states and Congress had consented, was approved by the President.⁴ To many people, this represented the fortunate culmination of several years of effort to coordinate the conservation activities of the major oil-producing states. To others, it was an anticlimax—an ineffectual substitute for the federal control launched under the National

² Such criticisms are to be found in Joseph J. Spengler, "The Economic Limitations to Certain Uses of Interstate Compacts," *The American Political Science Review*, XXXI (1937), 41; Jane Perry Clark, "Interstate Compacts and Social Legislation," *The Political Science Quarterly*, L (1935), 502; *ibid.*, LI (1936), 36; and Marshall E. Dimock and George C. S. Benson, *Can Interstate Compacts Succeed?* (1937).

³ The Federal Oil Conservation Board, created by President Coolidge in 1924, was a persistent advocate of the compact idea during the years of its existence, 1924-1933. Mr. Northcutt Ely prepared his study, *Oil Conservation Through Interstate Agreement*, in 1933 at the request of the Conservation Board. That there were others who favored the compact plan during these years was brought out by a congressional investigating committee in 1934. See *Petroleum Investigations*, Hearings on H. R. 441, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1934), Parts I-V.

⁴ 49 Stat. at L. 939 (1935). The Compact had been previously ratified by the states of Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. It is ordinarily referred to as the Interstate Oil Compact or simply the Oil Compact, and such forms will be used in this paper.

Industrial Recovery Act.⁵ To all, however, regardless of the degree of enthusiasm with which the Compact was received, it presented one possible solution to certain problems arising out of the production of oil and gas.

The original Oil Compact provided for its expiration on September 1, 1937, but there have been two renewals, first to September 1, 1939, and later to September 1, 1941.⁶ On neither of these occasions was any change made in the form or content of the original agreement. The following summary provides, therefore, an outline of the Compact through the five years of its existence.⁷

In Article I, it is stated that the Compact shall become effective when ratified by any three of the States of Texas, Oklahoma, California, Kansas, and New Mexico and consented to by Congress. Any oil-producing state, moreover, may become a party to the agreement through appropriate signature to a counterpart, and any state may withdraw upon sixty days' notice. A state incurs no financial obligation to another state by reason of membership in the Compact, nor does breach of the agreement subject a state to financial responsibility to any other member state.

The purpose of the Compact is "to conserve oil and gas by the prevention of physical waste thereof from any cause." On the other hand, it is declared not to be the object of the Compact to authorize member states to limit production of oil and gas "for the purpose of stabilizing or fixing the price thereof, or create or perpetuate monopoly, or to promote regimentation." In order to accomplish the objective of conservation, the states agree to enact appropriate laws, or if such laws have already been enacted, to continue them in force.

The interstate agency created by the Compact is designated as "The Interstate Oil Compact Commission," to which each state is permitted to appoint one representative. The Commission is given no independent power of enforcement, but is limited to functions of investigation and recommendation. In pursuance of its powers, the Commission is directed to make inquiry into "such methods, practices, circumstances, and conditions as may be disclosed for bringing about conservation and the

⁵ Those interested in the nature of this control will find adequate discussions in René de Visme Williamson, *The Politics of Planning in the Oil Industry Under the Code* (1936); and Myron W. Watkins, *Oil: Stabilization or Conservation?* (1937).

⁶ *Public Resolution No. 31*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess. (1939).

⁷ This summary is taken from the original Compact as it appears in 49 *Stat. at L.* 939 (1935).

prevention of physical waste of oil and gas," and to report its findings and recommendations to the governments of the several states. The Commission is also authorized to recommend a coordinated exercise of the police power of the member states "to promote the maximum ultimate recovery from the petroleum reserves," and to propose specific measures for the maximum ultimate recovery of oil and gas.

The basic theory of the Oil Compact is only partially evidenced by its major provisions. However, during the decade prior to the adoption of the Compact and in the course of its operation the supporting theory has become apparent. It may be stated as follows: First, in order to effect conservation of oil and gas it is necessary that some governmental authority regulate the production of these resources. Second, the state, not the Federal Government, possesses the police power requisite for such regulation. Third, there should be cooperation among the oil-producing states in order that the conservation program may be uniform and complete. And, finally, the Federal Government should assist the states in three ways: by preventing the movement in interstate commerce of oil, or its products, produced in violation of state laws and regulations; by making findings of fact as to supply and demand; and by controlling imports.⁸

The simplicity and preciseness of this argument gives it an appearance of irrefutable logic. The necessity for governmental regulation is no longer debated. Likewise, there is no doubt that the state possesses the power to legislate if it so chooses.⁹ It is not certain, however, that the Federal Government is constitutionally barred from action. The extent, and even the existence, of federal power in the matter has been hotly debated.¹⁰ If federal power of a comprehensive nature is lacking

⁸ The development of the theoretical background of the present Oil Compact is most conveniently followed in Federal Oil Conservation Board, *Reports*, I-V (1926-1932); and in Ely, *op. cit.*

⁹ See American Bar Association, Section on Mineral Law, *Legal History of Conservation of Oil and Gas: A Symposium* (1939).

¹⁰ Perhaps the nearest approach to a formal debate over the question of federal control occurred at the Cole Committee Investigation in 1934. See the testimony of Messrs. Margold, Marshall, Beaty, Veasey, Fouts, Blalock, and Parten in *Petroleum Investigation*, Hearings on H. R. 441, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess. (1934), Parts I-V. The argument was also conducted through the oil and gas journals and the legal periodicals of the country. See, for example, the following: Donald H. Ford, "Controlling the Production of Oil," *Michigan Law Review*, XXX (1932), 1170; James G. Stanley, "The Drama of the Oil Industry—Calling for Federal Regulation," *American Bar Association Reports*, LVI (1931), 669; and James A. Veasey, "Legislative Control of the Business of Producing Oil and Gas," *American Bar Association Reports*, LII (1927), 577.

then the argument is indeed a reasonable one. Assuming, however, that federal authority to act does exist, it then becomes a question of policy: Is state action coordinated by a compact a satisfactory method for the conservation of oil and gas? A summary analysis of the operation of the Oil Compact will be of value in answering this question.

It will be remembered that the Compact created an Interstate Commission, composed of one representative from each member state, with powers of investigation and recommendation, but with no independent authority of enforcement. Presumably the recommendations of the Commission would be received, considered, and acted upon by the proper authorities in each state—the legislature and the regulatory agency. The Compact Commission, therefore, could influence state action only by virtue of its prestige and that of the individual representatives. In theory, at least, such influence could be remarkably effective.

During the first years of its activity the Compact Commission evidenced, at the regular quarterly meetings, a determination to perform well its two functions of investigation and recommendation. Congress was persuaded to provide the Federal Bureau of Mines with funds for a survey of crude oil in storage, and the Commission cooperated in this work. Permanent committees were appointed to carry on definite research in order that the Commission might have data on which to base suggested improvements in conservation legislation. Some progress was made, but early in 1936 there appeared a limiting factor that has never been remedied and has prevented the Commission from attaining its maximum effectiveness, namely the lack of funds. For this reason, the Committee on Conservation, which was charged with the duty of investigating conservation legislation in the various oil-producing states, has been unable adequately to perform its functions. Yet the proposed work of this Committee was aimed at the very heart of the conservation problem and constituted a prerequisite to recommendatory action by the Commission.¹¹

Although the Compact contains no provision concerning market demand figures and the application of production quotas by the member states, the Commission has given both these matters its close attention.¹²

¹¹ A record of the work of the Commission is to be found in *The Interstate Oil Compact Commission, Transcript of Proceedings (1935-1940)*.

¹² The United States Bureau of Mines assumed in August, 1933, the function of estimating national petroleum requirements, and the work was continued after the approval of the Compact. Market demand figures and the application of production quotas based thereon have been the subject of much debate in recent years. In fact, the arguments over

The problem of balancing supply and demand by limiting production to market demand figures was debated at the conference held in Dallas, Texas, February 15-16, 1935, for the formation of a compact. Numerous representatives desired that the Commission be given power to recommend state quotas of oil, but Governor Allred of Texas vigorously attacked the proposal and labeled it price-fixing. Although the Governor of Texas prevented the inclusion of production quota provisions in the Compact, the desire of others seems to have prevailed in the end. Governor Marland of Oklahoma presaged such a development when, after having expressed his disappointment over the failure to include production quota provisions, he remarked that perhaps it would be a subject of consideration at future meetings.¹³

The Commission itself has not carried on fact-finding activities for the forecasting of market demand; instead, it has requested the Federal Bureau of Mines to do this work, and members of the Commission have been active in securing adequate appropriations from Congress for the Bureau. In addition, the Commission has recommended that the regulatory agencies of the various states make use of the findings of the Bureau of Mines.¹⁴ Can these activities be regarded as outside the scope of the Compact and even violative of certain definite prohibitions, such as that against price-fixing?

In view of the nature of the debates at the Dallas compact conference and the provisions of the Compact that was adopted there, committing the states to the restricting of well flow on the basis of factors controlling recovery efficiency, the Compact Commission has no authority to concern itself with market demand and production quotas based thereon. Even though the fact-finding agency is federal and not interstate, the Commission has shown a preoccupation, not justified by the Compact, with the restriction of production to market demand figures. This interest became an active force for the restoration of crude oil prices suddenly slashed in August, 1939. There may have been a need for a conference between members of the industry and state officials at this time; but in view of the fact that the aim of the oil states was to restore prices, the Compact Commission had no justifica-

conversation and stabilization in the oil industry have revolved around these procedures. See the following: Watkins, *op. cit.*; W. J. Kemnitzer, *Rebirth of Monopoly* (1938); and National Resources Committee, *Energy Resources and National Policy* (1939), 401-402.

¹³ See Conference of Oil States Governors, February 15-16, 1935, *Transcript of Proceedings*, 22-55, 94-100, and 210.

¹⁴ The Interstate Oil Compact Commission, *op. cit.*, December 13, 1935, 24.

tion for sponsoring such a conference. It became thereby a partner in the movement to restrict production—through a fifteen-day shutdown—for the purpose of controlling prices, an objective explicitly foreign to the purpose of the Compact.¹⁵

Further consideration of the activities of the Commission to promote physical conservation leads to the question of the influence of the Commission upon the conservation policies of the states. Unfortunately, this is difficult to measure. In theory, the Compact created a mechanism to promote the conservation of oil and gas. The test of the theory is to be found in the results, but in this instance the results are hardly measurable. This is due, in the main, to the type of work performed by the Commission. Few positive recommendations have been made to the states, and the study of conservation legislation and regulations has never progressed to the point where the Commission could propose uniform measures. The quarterly sessions of the Commission have served as a common meeting place for state officials, members of the industry, and others; but it is impossible to show an indisputable relationship between this forum and additions to, or changes in, conservation legislation.

The oil-producing states have made considerable progress in the development and application of conservation programs in the last five years. Several of the programs were started before the Compact became effective, however. In respect to them, the benefit of the Compact has largely been limited to an exchange of information on enforcement practices and problems. One is reminded of the doubt expressed by several representatives at the Dallas conference that the proposed agreement would do anything more than was already being done by several state regulatory agencies. To remove this distrust, it was answered that the Compact would facilitate the adoption of uniform measures and a general understanding of common problems.¹⁶ On this standard the Compact has been at least half successful by fulfilling the latter prophecy.

The possibility for more effective results from the Compact has been seriously curtailed by the failure to extend the original membership of six states to include more than one other, the State of Michigan. It is true that many of the states have sent observers to the meetings, but

¹⁵ An account of the August, 1939, crude oil crisis and the activity of the Commission with respect thereto will be found in *The Dallas Morning News*, August 15-September 16, 1939.

¹⁶ Conference of Oil States Governors, *op. cit.*, 186, 189, and 194.

this action has not appreciably strengthened the Commission administratively, nor have the states so represented been pledged to improve their conservation laws. These additional representatives have undoubtedly contributed to the "common understanding" of problems and practices, but little else have they added. It is in respect to the problem of membership that the "sovereign state" attitude is most apparent. There is no way to force the states into membership, and a majority of the states apparently have not seen enough advantage in the Oil Compact to pledge themselves voluntarily to its observance.

Not only membership in the Compact, but in truth its entire operation, is premised upon the willingness of the states to cooperate. For this reason the problem of enforcement has never arisen—the Compact in no way implies constraint. The member states have pledged themselves to certain action, but each state is the final judge of the propriety of its action. If a state is lax in its duties, the other member states have no recourse other than that of influence through the Commission, good example, and similar intangible forces. This lack of coercive power is regarded by many as a fundamental weakness of the Oil Compact, but others maintain it to be a source of strength since there is no attempt to supersede the rightful authority of the state. It would appear, however, that the principle of free cooperation, rather than coercion, is a source of strength only if the states by their actions demonstrate it so to be. In this instance, the Commission has made so few recommendations to the states that little is proved in regard to the possibility for uncoerced uniform action.

Briefly, then, what conclusions can be drawn from the operation of the Oil Compact during the period 1935-1940? In serving as the chief means for developing a common approach to oil and gas conservation since the collapse of the federal program in 1935, the Compact Commission has acted as a clearing-house for information between federal and state officials and numerous individuals and organizations connected with the American petroleum industry. This has undoubtedly contributed to a clearer understanding of the problem, and has demonstrated that state cooperation, to a degree at least, is possible. However else it may be said, this summarizes the creditable accomplishments of the Compact.

On the other hand, certain weaknesses have become apparent. It has not been possible to include most of the oil states in the Compact. Further, the Compact Commission has not been able to carry on a sus-

tained program of research on conservation methods, nor have uniform laws been proposed. In addition, the Commission has shown a preoccupation with market demand figures and production quotas that does not augur well for the consuming public.

What is the answer? Must the problem be turned over in its entirety to the Federal Government? There can be no question that this authority has a legitimate interest in the conservation of oil and gas, since these resources constitute an extremely important factor in the American economy. It is an open question, however, as to what degree of federal action is warranted by this interest. Yet, on the record of the past five years, the conclusion is justified that the operation of the present Compact has not given an unqualified endorsement to interstate action. In fact, it is extremely doubtful that the present agreement is adequate to handle the problem at all well, even though the membership should be extended. But if the states do not shortly act in a more vigorously concerted manner to handle the problem of conservation, it is very likely that the Federal Government will feel obliged to assume the burden.

Some Letters of the Texas Revolution

RICHARD R. STENBERG
Washington, D. C.

Addressed to the American Secretary of State on the eve of the Texas Revolution, the following two letters were written by a prominent citizen of Stephen F. Austin's populous colony on the Brazos, namely, his cousin Henry Austin.¹ They testify that the Texas Revolution—like most such revolutions—was desired and precipitated by a relatively small but highly interested and energetic speculative group not overly scrupulous in disseminating propaganda or in eschewing forceful measures to carry out their program. Austin's letters are of interest also as an early Texan appeal to the American government, or fatherland, for indirect assistance if not intervention in the prospective approaching "unpleasantness" between Texas and Mexico.

[July 22, 1835]

To the Honble J Forsyth
Secretary of State &c &c
Honble Sir

The time has come when you can perfect, that which Jefferson commenced, and Adams prevented:

The extension of the Republic of the North to the Rio Bravo del Norte.

The moment is favorable for placing a bright page in the History of the Administration—

Speculative and reckless men have involved the people of Texas in serious difficulty with the Mexican Government without first taking the sense of the people, without consent, organization, or the material of war, or the means to procure arms munitions and provisions.

¹ The letters are found in State Department *Miscellaneous Letters*, MSS., July-Sept. 1835, in The National Archives. The letter of July 22, 1835, is endorsed as "recd. Sept. 30," and that of August 27 as "recd. Oct. 9." The boundary memoir referred to in the letter of July 22 is found in *ibid.*, Oct.-Dec., 1835. Written apparently in 1829, it contended that the American Louisiana Purchase included all the territory east of the Rio Grande but did not definitely or logically include Oregon, and suggested that the United States cede its Oregon claim and pay \$2,000,000 to Mexico in exchange for the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande. This same exchange was also proposed early in President Jackson's administration by Acting Secretary of State James A. Hamilton and received considerable newspaper publicity in 1829. There is a sketch of "Henry Austin," by W. R. Hogan, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII, 185-214.

In this Municipality [Brazoria] we have stay'd the mad movement, and four fifths of the people are with us, for peace and fidelity to the Constitution and the laws.

The Municipalities of Gonzales, Mina, Austin and Liberty are with us having followed our example. But before the people could be convened to express their sentiments on the subject, the Revolutionists of San Felipe march'd to the Mexican port of Anahuac, disarmed the officers and discharged the soldiers from service.

Active exertions are now making by them to excite the people to arms. Genl. Lorenzo de Zavala has arrived to their aid, and does not hesitate to declare, that unless we take up arms, we shall be driven from the country.

This is done to increase the excitement and alarm, and doubtless without any real or probable cause.

The agitators have succeeded in one point, that of organizing the militia, ostensibly for defense against the Indians.

On the other hand the Commandt General of the Eastern States (Genl Coss) declares, that the Genl Govt. has no hostile feeling or intentions towards us.—That the people of Texas need not fear being disturbed in their persons or property. That the Genl Govt. knows that a few individuals have caused all the disturbance, and that those originators of the late political movements, must be delivered up, or he must march in with a force sufficient to take them.

He has already transported to Copano a Battallion of 600 men, and it is said 3,000 more are at Saltillo to be marched in if necessary.

Should the Mexican troops be marched in, it is to be seriously apprehended that they will be attacked, which would inevitably involve us in a general Revolution, through[ou]t Texas; and the next rash step would in all probability be a declaration of Independence of Mexico.

In such event our only chance would be, to take to our canebrakes and thickets, and keep up a Guerrilla warfare, until we could obtain the necessary supplies, and organize and train our people for efficient service in the field.

Should such a state of things occur, Will the people of the U S remain passive?

Will they see us driven from the soil we have legally acquired by toil and suffering?

Or, will they sustain the principle laid down by Lownds in his report to Congress, "That a Citizen of the U S A, is entitled to the protection of the Republic wherever his lawful pursuits may call him, even to the extremity of war."²

² This probably refers to the report made in March, 1820, by William Lowndes as chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, recommending the occupation of Florida despite Spain's failure to ratify the treaty of 1819. When foreign governments follow their citizens abroad we are prone to call it "imperialism," as a recent writer remarks, while the similar pursuits of our own government are usually more happily designated the "protection of nationals."

That we can repel the Mexican troops, or confine them to their camps is certain.

But in the meantime the people will be ruined by the neglect of their crops and the expenses of war.

Under these circumstances, What is to be the policy of the United States?

Santa Anna, it is believed, aims at sovereign power.

If so, he will not be willing to have such a body of Republicans as is now in Texas, in his Empire.

Drive us out he cannot.

He wants money, and without doubt, would, now that *his will is the constitution and the law*—sell us cheap, with the territory to get rid of us.

We have not heard from or of Col S F Austin since the 13 May.

I transmit herewith a Memoir on the Western boundary, written six years ago, at the instance of a friend of Genl Jackson; excuse the blot upon it, there is not time for me to copy it before the sailing of the packet.

The present population of Texas cannot be short of 40 or 50,000 Net Souls.

I also send herewith several printed papers relative to the late proceedings.

Bolivar, Department of Brazos

Austin's Colony Texas—July 22, 1835

I have the Honor to Subscribe myself Hble Sir
your most humble and obedient servant.

Henry Austin.

Confidential

Should you deem this communication worthy of a reply please enclose it in a blank envelope addressed to His honor Judge Edmund Andrews, Brazoria, Austin's Colony Texas.

[August 27, 1835]

To the Honble J Forsyth

Secretary of State &c &c

Hon. Sir,

Since my communication of last month the political condition of the People of Texas has become more alarming not that any act has been committed by the Genl Govt. nor any change effected in the minds of the reflecting part of the population, but because the Revolutionary faction in this municipality, have by management, deception and fraud obtained a Committee of Safety of their own party, which they claim to have been elected by a majority of the people, when in fact not more [than] one half were assembled or knew ought of the matter.

I transmit herewith one of their addresses to the people, with the single remark that all the pretended alarming information is the hearsay testimony of their own partizans, mostly manufactured to order.

This committee is busily and actively employed in disseminating alarming reports, exciting the people to Revolution for Independence and do not hesitate to declare they will attack the Mexican troops whenever they appear in Texas.

They are at this moment making preparations to take the Mexican Govt Schr [schooner] Montezuma in Galveston Bay—

There is yet a hope that the good sense of the citizens of the other Municipalities, may yet save us from a collision in arms with the Mexican troops, or that Col S F Austin may arrive with information that will tranquilize the public mind.

In his last letter July 8 he said, he was entirely free and should leave Mexico for Monclova in three days, that the reports of Santa Ana's intention to march to Texas was without grounds, and that the efforts made in Monclova and Texas to get up an excitement were for the purpose of creating a division in favor of the Revolters in the South.

This letter fell into the hands of one of the War party and has been suppressed.

Revolutionary measures and acts of outrage have been carried so far by a few rash men, that unless the Mexican govt. acts with great prudence and unity open war between the people and the Republic must ensue and the whole population be involved in it.

As this result is now most seriously to be apprehended, and as we could not sustain ourselves against the whole force of the nation without aid, I take the liberty to suggest one consideration which did not strike my mind upon writing my last to you.

The boundary line of the U S A has not yet been run.

It is questionable where it ought to be or ultimately may be run.⁸

Now should Santa Anna attempt to drive all the whites out of Texas from the Del Norte to the Sabine a portion of the legitimate citizens of the U S A, within the rightfull limits of the U S A might and probably would be included in the common distress if not ruin.

Would not this consideration justify the U S in marching forces to the frontier, to protect their own border citizens?

The citizens of Louisiana are deeply interested in this question for should a Mexican army reach the Sabine many very many of the slave population of that state would seek and find refuge with the Mexican troops, who would arm them to strengthen their force.

I do not believe that Santana intends to exterminate the whole population but should a Mexican force of strength sufficient to subdue the people come in it would cause total ruin to the colonies and produce the most heartrending distress and unexampled atrocities.

You will pardon me Sir for writing to you thus freely in consideration of the distressing situation in which a large body of peacefull, industrious honest and enterprizing people natives of the U S A are in danger of being placed

⁸ This was perhaps an allusion to and covert suggestion of the present possible convenience or usefulness of Jackson's claim that the Neches River in Texas was the real Sabine and the American boundary under the treaty of 1819. Cf. Stenberg, "Jackson's Neches Claim, 1829-1836," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, 255-274.

by the perfidious Govt. which invited them to occupy the soil for the sole purpose, as it would appear, of availing themselves of the fruits of their labors—

I have the honor to be Hble Sir
your most humble servt.

Henry Austin.

Brazoria
Department of Brazos
Texas
Augt. 27, 1835

Henry Austin was one of the "peace party," which included the vast majority of Texans⁴ up to the outbreak of the Revolution, precipitated, as it seems plainly to have been, by a small "war party" group expecting to derive personal advantages of various kinds from Texas independence. The gradual shift, perhaps not wholly conscious, from Henry Austin's first blunt virtual admission that the Mexican authorities had done nothing to justify the Texans in rebelling to his final, and really quite unjust, charge against the "perfidious Govt." illustrates the tendency of men to gloss over, misrepresent, and rationalize their opportunistic imperialism, expansion, and movements in furtherance of self-interest. History, being more disinterested and dispassionate than historic actors, will not unlikely consider the Texas Revolution quite comparable to the rebellion of the Americans in West Florida in 1810—who required only a pretext to advance their material interests forcefully on the larger scale—and mildly pass judgment that the Texas revolutionary leaders of 1835 precipitated and waged "defensive" and "preventative" war against Mexico chiefly in a Bismarckian sense.

2

Why was Stephen F. Austin—"father" of Anglo-American Texas and commander of the Texas revolutionary army from October 11 until mid-November, 1835—removed from the command in November, excluded from civil leadership in Texas, and virtually exiled or banished to the United States, to which he was sent (along with Branch T. Archer and W. H. Wharton) as a diplomatic commissioner? Who exiled Austin? Why was Sam Houston given command of the army and the "war party" agitator Henry Smith chosen Governor? The customary view, which saves all parties, has been that the Texas Consultation, the provisional governing body making these vari-

⁴ See E. C. Barker, "Public Opinion in Texas Preceding the Revolution," in *Am. Hist. Assn. Report*, 1911, I, 219-228.

ous elections in November, 1835, thought that Stephen F. Austin would be of more service in the United States.⁵ As the tale of personal ambition and intrigue that underlay these rather peculiar dispensations has not been disclosed by historians, the hitherto unpublished "Reflections of Guy M. Bryan" is of interest in its bearing on the matter.⁶

REFLECTIONS OF GUY M. BRYAN

Genl Stephen F. Austin was called to the command of the "army of the people" in 1835. He left San Felipe in such a condition of physical feebleness that his servant Simon lifted him on his horse. It was feared that *without him* rival feelings on part of supporters of local favorites for the command would dissolve the army. He reached the army in this state of excitement in camp on the eve of election, when all the candidates withdrew in his favor, and he was elected unanimously. No one had a more difficult task to organize and keep together the citizen soldiery—without a government or laws governing, and yet at the same time recognizing and fighting together for a government that had no practical existence. *He made the regulations that governed the army*, and no one felt more than he that the "organization was *purely voluntary*" on the part of the army (as will be seen by his letter to President of Consultation Nov 18th). In addition to these difficulties, he had to contend against *secret machinations* in the Consultation and *in camp*—Houston, Wharton and Phil Sublet acting together, with the view of prejudicing Austin and elevating the leaders of the "Wharton party"—When the Provisional Government was formed it was said that Austin could not be spared from the Army, and [Henry] Smith should be preferred for Governor. When this was decided, it was then said Houston had military experience and Austin was best known in the U. S. and could do most good there. The same motives prevented the storming of Bexar when twice ordered by Austin, and once by Burleson, to make Houston "*the hero of the war.*" The Whartons⁷ favored the advancement of Houston to break down Austin, first by the election of Smith and afterwards the appointment of Houston to the command of the army. Smith was a school teacher "found in a cane break in the Brazos bottom" by the Whartons (as said by themselves) and advanced as their friend. Houston was put forward

⁵ This view was expressed by Henderson Yoakum and other pro-Houston writers. Yoakum, *History of Texas* (New York, 1855), II, 13. The election of Governor took place in the Consultation prior to the proposal to send Austin to the United States, and resulted in Austin's receiving 22 votes as against 31 for Smith.

⁶ "Reflections," written by Bryan on the last three pages in S. F. Austin's Military Order-Book, Oct.-Nov., 1835, MSS. (81 pp.), in Austin Papers, Unpublished, in the University of Texas Archives. Austin's Order-Book itself has been published by E. C. Barker, in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XI, 1-55. Bryan was Austin's nephew.

⁷ John A. and William H. Wharton, brothers, had been close friends of Houston in Tennessee before the three came to Texas in the early 'thirties. The Whartons were early members of the "war party."

to be used by them, but he soon "set up for himself" and they became his most implacable enemies. Houston himself has said as much in regard to the motives of the Whartons. He respected Austin as did all his contemporaries, for all were compelled to do justice to his high and pure character and marked ability and patriotism—none doubted these, all conceded them to him, and but for selfishness all would have supported him when their services were needed—but "when self the wavering balance shakes," &c. Houston was an adventurer—his fortune and fame to make and [with] but little identification with Texas, knowing and caring at this time but little for the people west of the Neches. Austin on the contrary was thought identified with Texas and well known to her people and bound to them by the strongest ties that could bind a man to his country; he had everything to lose. Houston had everything to gain by ultimate success through desolation of Texas. Hence his policy to retreat across the Neches to the proximity of Genl Gaines' army where he would be reinforced and aided by Gaines, and Santa Anna drawn so far into Texas as to make his escape impossible.⁸ Houston had no confidence in his troops but had

⁸ Evidence of Houston's thwarted intention of retreating to the east of the Neches is cited by the present writer in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, 267-268, and *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XV, 248 note; see also M. A. Bryan, "Personal Recollections of Stephen F. Austin," in *The Texas Magazine* (Dallas), III, No. 5 (1897), 163-165; H. B. Shelby to Amasa Turner, September 25, 1848, in Amasa Turner MSS., in University of Texas Archives; D. G. Burnet, "Review of Kennedy's Texas, by a Texas Farmer," 1842, Nos. 4-5, with attached signed statements of Sidney Sherman and Henry Millard, of May 13, 1844, corroborating Burnet's account of Houston's military policy in 1836, in Burnet MSS., in *ibid.*; H. S. Foote, *Texas and the Texans* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 292-293; Foote to Lamar, November 20, 1839, in Winnie Allen, C. A. Gulick, and Harriet Smither, eds., *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin, Tex., 1921-1927), V, 326-327; *ibid.*, V, 377, 345-346; IV, Pt. II, 30-32, 34-36, 27-28; IV, Pt. I, 69-70.

Thomas J. Rusk carried to Houston the government's order that he stop retreating eastward and urged Houston to comply with his soldiers' similar desire. "Thomas J. Rusk," in *The Texas Almanac*, 1858, 106. As to President Jackson's claim to the Neches, Rusk later wrote John K. Allen of Nacogdoches, on June 18, 1836: "I'm informed that some folks in that section talk gravely of the protection of the United States as far as the Neches. I trust no man of sense thinks of that; it is fallacious and besides it is cowardly." Rusk MSS., in the University of Texas Archives.

There is considerable evidence that even to the last Houston, who led his army to San Jacinto unwillingly and against his better judgment, wished to avoid fighting and to continue the eastward retreat. Thus, M. B. Lamar, a participant at San Jacinto, relates: "The day after the battle the officers drew up a paper showing Houston to be a coward. When handed to Ben Smith to sign, he took it and secreted it. He did not destroy it. Showed it to me afterwards—[I] suppose it is with his papers, he being dead. I was not present at the Council of war on the 20 [April, 1836]. John Wharton was, and told me about it. He came to me and said 'Lamar, we shall have no fighting.' 'Why,' said I. 'Houston will not fight because his officers will not—as he says.' Afterwards Wharton made use of this strategem. He went to each officer separately and said how is this the Gen. says you will not fight? It is just what we want said each and all. He then went to Houston and told him they were all ready to fight. Let it be so, he said, since my officers will have it so. And fight they did." Historical notes written by Lamar for Mrs. M. A. Holly, April 4, 1844, in Austin MSS., in the University of Texas Archives.

in regular soldiers and feared the regulars of Mexico, having never met the Mexicans or commanded Texans. Before he took command at Gonzales he was a stranger to both. Austin's general plan of campaign was to drive Mexicans out of Texas by capture of San Antonio and then fortify Goliad and that place, making San Antonio serve as the line of defence between the enemy and the American settlements in his campaign. Had this plan been followed Copano and the coast could not furnish supplies to the invading army and they would have had to be brought over the desert country west of San Antonio River and instead as happened that the Texans had to supply both armies.

Houston himself actively assisted in the intrigue to shelve Austin, according to M. B. Lamar, who states:

Genl. Austin would have been Govr at the time Smith was elected, if he had not encountered Houston's hostility—I asked Genl Austin about the matter; he told me that he wrote to the Council to obtain the services of some Genl. from the U S of reputation who would have the confidence of the people here—he said he was induced to write such because Houston declared he did not want nor would he have the command; when he wrote the letter Houston took it in high dudgeon; opposed Genl Austin as Govr. in revenge and had him defeated, although he took care himself, for appearance sake, to vote for himself [Austin], with a knowledge that the vote would avail him nothing.⁹

This was also Bryan's understanding of Houston's course in 1835. In later correspondence with Bryan on the subject, Houston admitted the part played by the "Wharton party" in shelving Austin in 1835 and also the fact that Austin had offered him, and he had refused, the military command in October, 1835. Houston asserted that he himself had given "cordial support" to Austin in voting for him for Governor at the Consultation. Bryan, who had heard from many quarters that Houston had worked "hand in glove" with the "war party" Whartons to "railroad" Austin from leadership, was frankly sceptical of Houston's professions, and in reply pointed out certain facts which Houston had twisted or failed altogether to recall.¹⁰ Though somewhat vexed at having been shoved aside by ambitious opponents in the Consultation, Austin showed no open resentment or rancor; "his generous forgiveness of his enemies" was commented on by Lamar.¹¹ Austin was already a dying man.

⁹ Allen, Gulick, and Smither, eds. *The Lamar Papers*, VI, 173-174. It may be noted that in 1833 Houston voted for W. H. Wharton, instead of Austin, for president of the Texas convention.

¹⁰ Houston-Bryan correspondence of 1852-1853, in Austin MSS., in the University of Texas Archives.

¹¹ E. C. Barker, ed. *The Austin Papers*, III (Austin, Tex., 1927), 263, 483.

Austin's diplomatic service in the United States was probably of more material benefit to Texas than Houston's dubious military service. Yet the Texans, somewhat irrationally, conferred the Presidency upon Houston instead of Austin in the first election of the Republic in September, 1836. Houston in 1852 assured Bryan that he had entered the presidential contest in 1836 only to "prevent a deadlock" between the "Austin and Wharton parties." In reply Bryan pointed out that Wharton and Austin had been reconciled during their American tour in 1836 and that Wharton had supported Austin for the President, having, in fact, urged Austin to run for the office. Besides Houston's desire for fame and political power, his East Texas friends and the speculators generally in lands of very questionable title, such as holders of land-scrip of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co., many of whom were close associates of Houston, had an economic motive for desiring to have Houston placed in political power. One of these speculators, John T. Mason, wrote in June, 1836, to Samuel Swartwout of New York (who had invested heavily in land-scrip of the above-mentioned company):

I had advanced to Genl. Houston \$2000, as advocate and agent for our land business. . . Our surveys are all in the district between the Neches, Sabine and Red Rivers and will be embraced within the U. States if the Neches be declared the boundary—I had this in view in directing the locations. . . I think Houston will be able to get us a commissioner from the next Congress without waiting for a general land law and a regular land office . . . he has now a double motive in interest and friendship to serve us.¹²

What these speculators in lands of doubtful title needed was a legalization of their claims by some political authority of the new republic. This group naturally turned to Houston—himself a speculator—as the man most likely to serve their ends.

Bryan states that it was a group of land-speculators who convened and nominated Houston for President in the summer of 1836. Writing Houston on April 21, 1853, Bryan recalled:¹³

Some of his [Austin's] most influential political friends wished him to commit himself to a grand scheme of speculation on the public domain; he indignantly refused. Deeply incensed against him because he would not consent *to be used* by them for the accomplishment of their selfish projects, and mindful only

¹² Mason to Swartwout, June 4, 1836, in Swartwout MSS., in the University of Texas Archives. Cf. James M[organ] to Swartwout, May 12, 1836, in *ibid.* Mason had been an agent in Texas and Mexico of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.

¹³ See citation in note 10.

of their purposes and their revenge, they set about with zeal to defeat him for the presidency. Henry Smith could not do it—"the hero of San Jacinto could." For this purpose, they got up a meeting at Columbia which nominated you [Houston]. The army composed of men just from the U. S. united with the efforts and influence of the men I have referred to elected you by a large majority over Austin. Few men in your position would have refused the nomination. I have never blamed you for accepting it. But some of those most active in your support were selfish and designing men, and befriended you only that they might defeat Austin (because he had spurned their propositions), and hoped in you to find a more yielding instrument in their hands. In this, however, they were signally disappointed, for their schemes never reached fruition.

The Contributions of the Grangers To Education in Texas

RALPH SMITH

Oklahoma College for Women

The first subordinate Grange in Texas was founded July 5, 1873, at Salado, Bell County, and in October the Texas State Grange was organized. When the Order reached its peak in 1876-'77 it claimed a membership of 40,000 Texas farm men and women in over 1,300 local clubs. The objects of this secret agrarian Order was to elevate the farming class through a type of education that would attain for them happier home lives, more social intercourse, and the advantages of co-operative dealing in business.¹

The Grangers' educational program attacked the farmers' homage to King Cotton by teaching crop diversification, tried to convince the ex-slave master who was forced to manual labor that it was not "undignified," advocated the use of newer machinery and methods of cultivation which slave labor had discouraged, demanded a better public school system, and offered for the pernicious credit-mortgage system in vogue in the post-war South a co-operative financial scheme that was in itself a school in business principles.² Major J. W. Downs, owner of the *Waco Examiner and Patron* and *Waco Daily Examiner* and an active Granger, pointing out the need for such a program, charged the farmers with ignorance of even the most essential agricultural precepts. Their isolated contentment had made them so unconcerned with their political and social relations that they could not bargain on equal terms with their competitors. They lacked professional pride and interest and as a whole were illiterate.³

¹ Constitution and Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry.

² The first State Grange meeting instructed its Worthy Master to correspond with the masters in other cotton states for data on crop production and to communicate the information to the subordinate Granges. *Proceedings of the Texas State Grange, of the Patrons of Husbandry*, 1874, p. 29, given subsequently as *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*. This was the first time that Texas farmers had ever collectively paid any attention to their marketing and production problems.

³ *Examiner and Patron*, February 22, 1878.

An extensive reading program was the Grangers' device for lifting the farmers out of their stolidness. The organization strived to place a newspaper in every Grange hall and farm home. Political parties, educational, religious, and social organizations had official journals to speak for them. The Grangers, recognizing the same need for an independent organ, at their second state meeting studied the subject,⁴ but concluded with a contract with Downs to publish their official matter in the *Examiner and Patron*.⁵ Grange lecturers followed up with a campaign to obtain as many farmer subscriptions for the paper as possible.⁶ In 1881 the Grange transferred its agreement to W. P. Hancock of Belton, editor of the *Texas Farmer*, an eight page weekly journal,⁷ while numerous other editors showed their newsheets to be "Grange" papers. The Order organized the Texas Farmer Co-operative Publishing Association, Patrons of Husbandry, in 1882, and took over the *Farmer* as its official organ. Since then the *Farmer* has enjoyed an active and interesting career, being published since 1913 as the *Progressive Farmer*. However, it did not achieve for the Grangers all that it might have, because its second editor, W. A. ("Farmer") Shaw, engaged in political discussions.⁸ During political campaigns most Grange papers were guilty of the same charge, but ordinarily their information was well distributed. Grange news in them included reports on the "Condition of the Order," crop conditions, and announcements of meetings and picnics. Grangers found useful professional information in the educational articles, many of them creditably written by both Patrons and Matrons. Rustic columnists dedicated essays to "Smoking and Care of Meat," "Building of Silos," "Preparation of Soils," and "Planting of Trees." Their wives wrote on "Table Manners," "The Ideal Home," "The Baby," "Flower Chats," and "Why Women Should Read." For the Matrons' myriad correspondences the *Examiner and Patron* and *Farmer* reserved sections styled the "Ladies Department"

⁴ *Daily Democratic Statesman*, April 15, 1874.

⁵ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1874, pp. 14, 29; 1875, p. 21.

⁶ A. J. Rose to J. W. Downs, October 11 [?], 1877, Rose Letter Book, in the Archives of The University of Texas.

⁷ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1881, p. 25.

⁸ W. A. Shaw to Rose, July 30, 1884; Shaw to J. B. Long, January 17, 1885; S. J. Anderson to Rose, and Long to Rose, February 24, 1885, all in Rose Papers in the Archives of The University of Texas; Rose to Long, May 31, 1884, and March 13, 1885; Rose to Shaw, April 14, 1890; Rose to J. S. Rogers, January, 1890, and January 13, 1891; Rose to Geo. Mitchell, February 25, 1891, all in Rose Letter Book; *Fort Worth Gazette*, May 25, 1888.

and the "Sisters Club" through which the Grange wives exchanged ideas and passed on their experiences.⁹ Reviews and editorials on "Benefits of the Order," "Social Features of the Order," "Pay-as-you-go," and "Women in the Grange" were placed in separate strips. The State Grange, stressing the great need for literature among the farmers, asked its members for pledges to pass on their papers to as many neighbors, Grangers or non-Grangers, as possible, and requested each sub-Grange to subscribe for six copies to distribute free.¹⁰

Many local clubs established libraries in their halls, and some provided reading rooms. Macedonia Grange in Wood County purchased books to be exchanged among its members at the regular meetings and aspired to employing a "competent librarian."¹¹ Henry Grange reported a library of 100 books and a "library society."¹² In 1883 twelve of the less than 300 Granges reported libraries.¹³

For the average Granger the regular bi-weekly meeting had educational and social value.¹⁴ Forum type discussions on subjects related to the arts and crafts of farm life, often open to the public, and supplemented by the reading of essays were common features of a meeting. "Salado Grange Minutes" yield a typical program: "Sister Clemons read an interesting Essay on the subject of Butter Making. Sister Fuller was appointed by the Master to read an article on any selected subject at the next regular monthly meeting. . . Brother Hancock, our Lecturer, read a very interesting Essay on mixed farming. . . Sister S. A. Rose read a very interesting Essay on the duties and responsibilities of women." Patron and Matron speakers touched on

⁹ Every issue of the *Farmer* "is freighted with valuable contributions from our people upon practical subjects in which we are all interested," said Master A. J. Rose. *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1887, p. 10.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of State Grange*, 1887, pp. 27-28.

¹¹ *Waco Daily Examiner*, April 28, 1876. A Travis County Grange set aside \$40 "for library purposes." *Waco Daily Examiner*, January 9, 1877.

¹² *Waco Daily Examiner*, December 20, 1876.

¹³ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, p. 11. The lack of funds prevented organizing more libraries. A plan was suggested in the *Waco Daily Examiner*, August 8, 1878, for each member of a Grange to buy a book to be given to the library after reading it. Downs recommended that Granges sponsor entertainments to raise funds for libraries. *Waco Daily Examiner*, June 17, 1877. A Salado Matron urged members to look at home for books that "they could spare the library," asking "How are we to educate ourselves without reading, and how are we to read without books?" "Salado Grange Minutes," I, 128, in the Archives of The University of Texas.

¹⁴ Master Rose called the local Grange meeting ". . . a school, for through its medium we gain information upon everyday subjects that affect our interest as farmers and citizens." *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1882, p. 6.

the comforts and appearance of the home and its beautification through the planting of shrubbery, flowers, and trees, and the repair of out-houses and fences.¹⁵

For the type of refinement derived from social contacts the subordinate and county Granges sponsored fairs which also extended the Patron's knowledge of domestic and exotic products, improved machinery, and the latest methods of scientific farming.¹⁶ Downs advanced a plan for a State Grange fair in the vicinity of Waco in 1874,¹⁷ and the State Grange Master encouraged the idea in 1875,¹⁸ however, it was not until 1889 that the Texas State Grange Fair Association was organized and located at McGregor where successful annual exhibitions were held until 1894.

The Grangers, interested not only in adult education, cast a critical eye upon the scholastic advantages afforded their children in the public schools, which, especially in rural areas, were very inadequate. The State Constitution of 1876, drafted by a convention controlled by Grangers and devoted to "retrenchment in government," provided for financing the public schools from one-fourth of the occupation tax, one dollar of the poll tax, and part of the *ad valorem* tax. It prohibited the people from levying local *ad valorem* taxes for school purposes. It provided for the "school community system" with the administration of the school solely in the control of the local community. Any number of citizens could form a school community, put a school in operation, and regulate its affairs, leaving, however, the selection of teachers to the trustees whom they elected. State school funds were prorated among the schools according to scholastics with the stipulation that they be used for teachers' salaries only. This system made it easy for a Grange, often having a hall which non-Patrons did not have to offer, to organize a school. The Dallas County Grange urged its sub-Granges to "secure good local schools by proceeding, by donation, or purchase, to acquire good building sites with a small quantity of land to each for gardening and other purposes; build houses for

¹⁵ Major Downs could see no reason why a farmer's home should be as "coarse as a stable." *Waco Daily Examiner*, August 20, 1875.

¹⁶ A Travis County Grange was one of the earliest to sponsor a fair. *Waco Daily Examiner*, January 9, 1877. Hill County reported a Grange fair, and the Cass County Grange held its second annual display of agricultural products in 1877. *Waco Daily Examiner*, August 14, 1877, October 18, 1877, and November 27, 1877.

¹⁷ *Waco Daily Examiner*, May 9, 1874.

¹⁸ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1875, p. 14.

teachers and invite, by all possible means, experienced and competent teachers to become residents among us and thus have a good school conducted by every subordinate Grange."¹⁹ The State Grange advised local Granges to appoint committees on education and to invest surplus funds in school houses and Grange halls.²⁰ The numerous reports in the *Waco Daily Examiner* and in the State Grange minutes of Granges that had established local schools which were "functioning admirably" is testimony of the Order's success. Master Rose in 1883 when the Order had lost 80 per cent of its former strength reported over thirty Granges taking an interest directly in education, "Some have control and management of schools. When this is the case the school terms are lengthened without increasing the expenses."²¹

Rural children had very little opportunity to attend high schools, since few communities had schools above the elementary grades. The few high schools which existed were private and were located in towns. In 1875 a proposal for founding a high school by the Order at some central location in the State, preferably at Waco, to teach the "branches accessory to the business of farming" came from Major Downs.²² Robertson County Grangers formed an educational association and arranged to purchase property from the Methodist Church at Owensville in which to establish a high school open to both boys and girls. The funds for this school were to come through the sale of five-dollar shares of stock, while a board of trustees appointed by the Grange would select the faculty and act as managers.²³ Towash Grangers of Hill County urged the State Grange to purchase a farm in Central Texas and to establish dormitories and a high school sufficient to accommodate 400 boys and girls and to teach them English and "the science of agricultural chemistry."²⁴ A Kaufman County Patron endorsed the plan and thought that the school should be "free to indigent orphans whose parents were patrons."²⁵ The State Lecturer, A. M. Keller, in 1883 pointed out the remarkable success of the Order in its system of co-operative dealing in business to the State Grange and outlined a plan for a co-operative high school owned by shareholding

¹⁹ *Waco Daily Examiner*, August 19, 1877.

²⁰ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1877, p. 24.

²¹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1883, p. 9.

²² *Waco Daily Examiner*, October 20, 1875.

²³ *Waco Daily Examiner*, October 29, 1875, and December 5, 1875.

²⁴ *Waco Daily Examiner*, December 17, 1875, and January 21, 1876.

²⁵ *Waco Daily Examiner*, April 1, 1876.

Patrons.²⁶ Though this plan did not succeed, at the next annual meeting a committee reported, "Co-operative schools admitting non-Patrons' children are said to be working admirably."²⁷ A Grange high school established at Alto, Cherokee County, about 1888 on the co-operative plan,²⁸ was two years later in "fine working order, with a good faculty, and growing in interest and usefulness."²⁹

After working four years under the Constitution of 1876 with the "school community system" the Grangers were not satisfied with their progress. The Order recognized its mistake at the Convention in restricting the people's power to supplement state funds for schools by special local *ad valorem* taxes to provide buildings (as state funds could be used only for salaries) or for extending the terms by other than voluntary donations. As a consequence schools were held only two or three months a year and in abandoned houses or vacant buildings.³⁰ Grangers took the lead in the general awakening that came in the early eighties on school questions and demanded longer terms, more practical courses, uniform textbooks, and capable teachers. In 1881 the State Grange wished to provide more funds for longer terms by removing with an amendment the constitutional limitation on occupational taxes,³¹ and when the public asked for a six-month term the Grangers extended their demands to an eight-month term.³² The Order's influence was present in the Eighteenth Legislature which adopted an amendment ratified by the electorate August 14, 1883, to provide public schools "for a period of not less than six months in a year" by authorizing a state *ad valorem* school tax of not more than twenty cents and by authorizing the creation by the legislature of school districts for local taxation not to exceed twenty cents per hundred dollars *ad valorem*.³³ Some of the Patrons, not satisfied with this gain, favored further legislation that would make a ten-month term possible but Master Rose believed that six months was as long as the average farmer would send his children to school.³⁴ The Grangers led in

²⁶ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1883*, pp. 39-40.

²⁷ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, pp. 41-42.

²⁸ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1888*, p. 23.

²⁹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1890*, p. 32.

³⁰ Constitution of Texas, 1876, article VII; Frederick Eby, *Development of Education in Texas*, pp. 151-181.

³¹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1881*, p. 18.

³² *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1882*, p. 26.

³³ Constitution of Texas, 1876, article VII, section 3.

³⁴ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, pp. 33, 42; 1886, p. 15.

arousing communities to use this authorization to levy local taxes for school support. The question became a popular subject at Grange meetings, and many Patrons who had opposed additional taxes changed their views.³⁵

The lack of uniformity of textbooks and the exorbitant prices charged for them provoked complaint among the Grangers. Often there were three or four books in use in one class.³⁶ They thought that they had found the answer to this problem when Master Rose in 1880 arranged with D. Appleton and Company to furnish the Texas Co-operative Association, the Grange co-operative marketing and purchasing agency at Galveston, with all the needed books for sale to the Patrons through their local co-operative Grange stores.³⁷ The Order memorialized the Legislature in 1888 to adopt a uniform system of textbooks to be furnished to schools at actual cost.³⁸ But "When the bill was introduced it produced a commotion among the publishers and they swarmed around the capital until the measure was defeated," Master Rose lamented. "When you talk of contracting with one firm to furnish books for the State, the cry of monopoly is raised. But the poor children of Texas can stand a monopoly that saves them millions of dollars," he continued.³⁹ Master J. L. Ray in 1896 pointing out that school books were still the most expensive on the market wanted to "annihilate the school book trust."⁴⁰

The Grangers were also interested in securing competent teachers, "who," in Rose's language, "will continually impress, by precept and example, those committed to their charge . . . [and] who will have an elevating and refining influence upon the pupils."⁴¹ Master Ray bemoaned later that "Too often the lady teachers are only filling in time' . . . until they meet a favorable matrimonial proposal, . . . the

³⁵ Rose told the State Grange, "The continued discussion of this subject in our Grange meetings has done much to awaken the people to a sense of duty, interest, and action. . . Those who, in days past, thought it robbery to be taxed for education purposes . . . now see it is much better . . . than to be taxed to build jails and to defray expenses of criminals." *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, pp. 17-18.

³⁶ Eby, *Development of Education in Texas*, p. 213.

³⁷ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1880*, pp. 44-45; *Important Action of the Texas State Grange in Regard to School Books, 1880*, a circular by A. J. Rose, Rose Papers.

³⁸ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1888*, p. 25.

³⁹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1889*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1896*, p. 7.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, p. 17.

male teachers . . . only wait to get money enough on hand to enable them to go into some other business or profession."⁴²

The State Grange advocated repeatedly the raising of the scholastic age from fourteen to eighteen years, making compulsory attendance for five months annually, and the consolidation of small school districts.⁴³

To the Grangers educating the farmer and his children meant more than enlightening them along the customary cultural lines.⁴⁴ "The leading object of the Grange," said Rose, "is to put in operation a system of education, for the farmers, that would eventually bring them out of the old paths where they have been so long journeying, placing them on a higher plane of usefulness to country, neighbor and self . . . I have often said that education was the chief cornerstone of the Grange . . . In this day of invention and progress, it is clear that a common school education does not meet all the needs of the farmer. He still stands in great need of an education in the science of his vocation."⁴⁵ The Grangers first showed an interest in industrial training by converting their Grange meetings into primary agricultural schools and by demanding that the introductory principles of scientific farming be made a course of study in the public schools. Major Downs, exposing the shortage of scientific farmers, seized the leadership of the crusade for vocational training. "How much time and money is now being foolishly and uselessly spent by boys in schools on the Greek and Latin languages!" he demanded. "What we need is something more practical for their profession; and above all, let more boys be educated for farmers, and as well educated for this profession as for any other."⁴⁶ He asserted that 97 per cent of the students in Texas went into industrial work or became housewives, but the schools were being conducted as if they were fitting them to become clergymen, lawyers, doctors, or teachers of the classics.⁴⁷ Inasmuch as the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Bryan did not open until October, 1876, some Patrons urged the Order to establish an agricultural school. Among them was Downs

⁴² *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1896, p. 7.

⁴³ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1882, p. 32; 1884, p. 34; Rose to Thomas E. Hill, April 12, 1882, Rose Letter Book.

⁴⁴ "We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges, that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their course of study." From the Constitution and Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange.

⁴⁵ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1887, pp. 3-6.

⁴⁶ *Waco Daily Examiner*, September 22, 1876.

⁴⁷ *Waco Daily Examiner*, January 12, 1876.

whose plan included plain, substantial buildings for classrooms and dormitories and a farm of 1500-2000 acres of arable land for experimenting and providing means for boys to earn their expenses. In its mechanical department "boys would learn any of the trades which are common in the State, such as blacksmithing, shoemaking, tailoring, wagon-making, carpentering, and the like."⁴⁸ When the Agricultural and Mechanical College, dedicated to the objectives which the Grangers wished to achieve, failed to come up to their expectations they took definite steps toward their own goal. It was only the lack of funds to pay for a farm that prevented them from opening a "model experiment farm" near Austin in 1877. The Order received bids for the location of an experiment farm in several parts of the State in 1878, and at the same time memorialized the Legislature to set aside funds for such a farm, which would help to pay student expenses, to be established in connection with the College at Bryan.⁴⁹ An experimental farm was instituted with the fair on part of the 400 acres of land that the Order obtained from the city of McGregor in 1889. However, because the Grange was declining, little interest seems to have resulted.

Through papers and from the stump Grange leaders pressed the Grangers to patronize "their" College at Bryan. From the beginning it was involved in financial, political, and managerial difficulties. The legislature neglected to provide adequate appropriations.⁵⁰ Criticism came from all directions, principally against the Board of Directors whom the Grangers held responsible for the military training on the campus and the emphasis on literary subjects while it had no agricultural department. Grange scribes bitterly attacked this curriculum, which failed to carry out their four-years' campaign to insert practical subjects in the course of study of the public schools, and suggested as appropriate names for the institution: "Puff and Strut School," "Brass Button School," and the "United States Military School."⁵¹ In the first State Grange they had memorialized the State Board of Education to adopt more practical courses including "agricultural chemistry."⁵² The

⁴⁸ *Waco Daily Examiner*, January 6, 1876.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1877, p. 41; 1878, pp. 24, 57-58, 60; 1879, p. 21.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1880, p. 52; 1885, pp. 34-35; *Daily State Gazette*, September 19, 1876.

⁵¹ *Daily State Gazette*, September 22, 1876; *Examiner and Patron*, May 31, 1878, June 21, 1878.

⁵² *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1874, pp. 10-11. In 1877 the State Grange committee on education had the College in mind as well as public schools when it

need for other courses was not overlooked. Physiology, political economy, industrial education, vocal and instrumental music, shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, rapid calculation, and commercial law were all individually named and demanded in their campaign.⁵³

Master W. W. Lang in 1880 showed the State Grange that the College was *not* graduating young men to become "missionaries" to backward farmers. Instead military drilling, the "flashing of brass buttons," and the fostering of the classical departments overshadowed all of its agrarian features. He had found ninety-four of the 103 students enrolled studying Latin; many of them had never studied Latin before and intended to spend only one year in the College. In the department of science eighteen were studying chemistry, eight geology, and the class of three studying agriculture had been disbanded. Six professors were teaching Latin, Greek, logic, grammar, modern languages, and only one was teaching in any field related to agriculture. A committee report at the same meeting acknowledged the teaching of classical subjects, but said that it was due to the demand for them in the absence of a state university. While the school did not have an instructor in agriculture at the time it was because of the poor selection of the first one, and the Board of Directors was trying to fill the vacancy.⁵⁴

The College still not being up to expectation in 1883, the Grangers appealed to the Legislature in a memorial to make the College "a school to educate and elevate the laboring class . . . what its name purports to be."⁵⁵ Master Rose assured H. H. Dinwiddie, chairman of the faculty and acting head of the institution, that the Grange was organizing the farmers in an offensive drive in its behalf.⁵⁶ The College is indebted to the Grange for the position that it occupies today. The Order was its most vigorous champion during two decades of intense

composed these words: "We would like to see the subject of scientific agricultural education taught in all our schools, and until this event we believe that we will plod along in ignorance and darkness in the old and worn out paths of our ancestors." *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1877*, p. 25.

⁵³ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1882*, p. 32; 1887, p. 36; 1900, p. 32; 1903, p. 17.

⁵⁴ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1880*, pp. 24-25, 50-52.

⁵⁵ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1883*, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁶ Rose to H. H. Dinwiddie, October 26, 1883, and Rose to Geo. W. Curtis, May 21, 1884, Rose Letter Book; *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, pp. 53-54; "Minutes of Texas Co-operative Association," 159, in the Archives of The University of Texas; Dinwiddie to Rose, May 31, 1884, and "Address of A. J. Rose to A. and M. College, 1885," a typed copy in Rose Papers.

rivalry with the State University after 1883. It opposed article VII, section 13 of the Constitution which made the College a branch of the University established in 1883 in accordance with article VII, sections 10-15 and as a part shared in the endowment of that institution.⁵⁷ The State Grange through Master Rose appealed to Governor John Ireland in the fall of 1885 to recommend to the legislature the adoption of an amendment providing that one-third of the available University fund derived from \$600,000 of bonds and 2,000,000 acres of land be set aside for the College under its Directors instead of allowing the Regents of the University to administer it.⁵⁸ When a called session convened in 1886, Rose presented a memorial to each house for an amendment, and called the full strength of the Order into action to support his position.⁵⁹ The Legislature turned the request down, and the relationship of the two schools broke into an open political issue. Rose, infuriated by the politics involved, devoted most of his annual speech in 1886 to this topic and asked the Grangers to remove with the ballot those legislators unfriendly to the College. "There is no question that demands the attention of the great body of farmers more than this one," he contended. Experience shows conclusively that university control represses the industrial spirit, destroys the practical usefulness of a course in manual training, and "The patent classics keep up the spirit of ancient times, while he who works with his hands is despised as a serf," the Master declared. He expected the Grangers throughout the State to "speak out in no uncertain" terms their attitude toward the legislative movement then being discussed to abolish the Board of Directors and to place the College under the Regents.⁶⁰ Patrons responded with personal letters and with petitions from state and local Granges to the legislators.⁶¹ The old Master carried his fight to Austin

⁵⁷ Rose to Dinwiddie, October 26, 1883, Rose Letter Book.

⁵⁸ Rose to Governor John Ireland, November 4, 1885, Rose Letter Book.

⁵⁹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1887*, appendix, pp. 6-8; *Proceedings of National Grange, 1885*, p. 66. In Louisiana and Kentucky the state Granges had demanded and secured the separation of the agricultural and mechanical colleges from the state universities. *Report of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1885*, p. 14.

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1886*, pp. 15, 17, 19.

⁶¹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1886*, pp. 41-42; Rose to R. E. Steele, January 31, 1887, and a memorial accompanying the letter, Rose Letter Book. In a letter to Senator C. K. Bell with pages marked in a copy of the State Grange minutes the Master wrote, "This is merely to show you that the P of H mean more than words. They are determined to co-operate with the State in making the college second to none in the U. S. and they hope that this session of the Legislature will manifest a spirit of liberality not done heretofore." Rose to Hon. C. K. Bell, February 14, 1887, Rose Letter Book.

in 1887 where the Legislature was in session,⁶² and directing his assault from the capitol hill cautioned the Grangers to watch their legislators in a signal call "To the Patrons of Husbandry Farmers Mechanics and all interested," which drew a counter attack from the *Daily Democratic Statesman*, an Austin paper friendly to the University, and brought President T. D. Wooten of the Regents out to defend himself against the charge that in a conference between the Directors and the Regents "the Regents positively refused to consider any adjustment looking to or that contemplated allowing the college one cent of the University fund."⁶³ The Grange succeeded in defeating the proposal to place the College under the management of the Regents. It became more closely associated with the College when Governor L. S. Ross appointed Master Rose on January 22, 1887, to complete the unexpired term of Colonel T. M. Scott on the Board of Directors,⁶⁴ and he became president of the Board in 1889, the position he held until 1897. During those years the Grange relations with the College and its Negro branch at Prairie View in Waller County were most mutual and co-operative. Further acquiescing to the Grangers' demand that farmers and mechanics be chosen as directors,⁶⁵ John B. Long, who succeeded Rose in 1891 as Master of the State Grange, was appointed also to the Board.⁶⁶

The Grangers did not overlook their daughters' needs for education.⁶⁷ Long, speaking in the State Grange in 1885, stated, "It occurs to us that we ought to speak out in unmistakable terms upon this point to the end that at the earliest practicable time, the duties of the household may form a prominent feature in the education of our daughters."⁶⁸ Master Rose, frequently using similar expressions, emphasized their need for practical training at the State Grange in 1889 "in order that they may not work in the cotton fields from necessity . . . Let the Grange stretch forth its strong right arm in woman's behalf, and have her claims presented to the next Legislature and ask that an industrial school be provided for females."⁶⁹ Again in the Grange in

⁶² Rose to W. A. Armstrong, February 4, 1887, Rose Letter Book.

⁶³ "To the Patrons of Husbandry Farmers Mechanics and all interested," February 2, 1887, and Rose to Dinwiddie, March 2, 1887, Rose Letter Book.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1888*, p. iii.

⁶⁵ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1884*, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁶ John B. Long to Rose, May 17, 1895, Rose Papers.

⁶⁷ *Waco Daily Examiner*, December 19, 1876.

⁶⁸ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1885*, p. 50.

⁶⁹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange, 1889*, p. 5.

1890 and 1891 these words re-echoed, and today the Texas State College for Women (College of Industrial Arts) at Denton formally expresses its gratitude to the Order for having been responsible for its origin. In 1891 Honorable A. J. Baker of San Angelo introduced a bill in the Texas House while a similar bill originated in the Senate to establish a school as the Mississippi Industrial Institute and College at Columbus, but both failed.⁷⁰ At the turn of the century the Grange though in its dying days was still making "an active effort . . . in behalf of the beloved and precious girls of Texas."⁷¹ With the aid of Mrs. Helen M. Stoddard, President of the Texas Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Grangers' proposal became a plank in the Democratic platform in 1900 and a law in 1901. The Grange desired that the institution be located at the Agricultural and Mechanical College because of the equipment for scientific work already there, and because support could be secured from the federal government, but instead it opened its doors at Denton on September 23, 1903.⁷²

Although the Grange engaged in a number of activities beneficial to the common people, it made its greatest permanent contribution to Texas in the field of education. Ten years after it had entered the State, Rose said:

We find . . . many places where the planting of a Grange had the voluntary effect of breaking down prejudice, uprooting selfishness, and uniting the people, thus enabling them to build school houses and churches, and maintaining their schools from five to nine months in the year, whereas previous . . . they could do none of these things.⁷³

The same person shortly before his death in 1903 declared:

The Grange has been the grandest education the farmer has ever had. More books, more papers, more periodicals, have been distributed among the farmers by the Grange than from all other sources. More men and women have developed into good thinkers, writers, and speakers in the Grange organization than in all other organizations known to the American people.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Alva L. Baird, "The Story of Texas State College for Women (C.I.A.)," in *Texas Outlook*, September, 1936, pp. 34-35.

⁷¹ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1899, pp. 24-25.

⁷² *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1901, pp. 20-21; Blair, "The Story . . .," *Texas Outlook*, September, 1936, pp. 34-35.

⁷³ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1883, p. 9.

⁷⁴ *Proceedings of Texas State Grange*, 1903, p. 16.

Budgeting in Texas Counties in Terms of Living Within Available Resources¹

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The Uniform Budget Law applying to Texas counties was passed in 1931 and became effective on August 21 of the same year. The law requires that budgets be prepared approximately six months in advance of the calendar year to which they apply. Although the law has been subjected to considerable criticism, officials are generally agreed that it permits effective budgeting if and when a conscientious effort is made to secure good administration.

This paper is confined to a single measure of the effectiveness of county budgeting, namely, the degree to which the counties are able to live within their available resources. The analysis is based on a sample of 60 counties for the calendar, or budget, year 1935. (Of these 60 counties, nine did not prepare budgets for 1935, but no distinction is made because of this. In terms of living within available resources, the record of the nine counties which prepared no budgets does not differ essentially from that of the 51 counties which prepared budgets for 1935). In order to avoid placing too much reliance on the results of one year, schedules have been obtained on 26 of the 60 counties for the year 1939. In the case of these 26 counties the results of a five-year period are therefore revealed.²

With these explanations in mind let us examine the record of the 60 sample counties in order to determine how well they lived within their available resources in 1935. The term "available resources" refers to the sum of the opening balance and the annual receipts; it is the total amount available to finance expenditures during the year. In making this analysis it is desirable to use the fund accounts instead of the county-wide accounts for the use of county totals might conceal the

¹ This paper is based on a forthcoming bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, A. and M. College of Texas.

² The assistance of the Texas Highway Planning Survey and the East Texas Chamber of Commerce in the collection of these data is gratefully acknowledged.

poor results obtained in particular funds. It is also well to note that no interest and sinking funds are included. In every case the available resources of the interest and sinking funds in 1935 exceeded the payments. In the case of counties having only serial bonds, this is an excellent record. But if term bonds are outstanding, the mere fact that resources exceeded payments does not mean that the fund has collected sufficient money. In the case of term bonds, enough must be collected to pay the interest and to accumulate a certain percentage of the bonds outstanding. Available information does not reveal the term bond situation, however.

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDS LIVING WITHIN AVAILABLE RESOURCES

Table I shows that 83.1 per cent of the current or operating funds in the 60 counties spent less than they had available in 1935. The remainder, or 16.9 per cent of the funds, spent more than was available from receipts and balances during the same period. Of the four operating funds shown, the permanent improvement fund had the best record, but the jury fund was almost equally good. The road and bridge fund had a considerably poorer record than either the jury or permanent improvement fund. The general fund group had the poorest record of all because only 73 per cent of the 60 general funds lived within the resources available.

TABLE I
COUNTY FUNDS SPENDING LESS THAN OR MORE THAN WAS AVAILABLE FROM
RECEIPTS AND BALANCES IN 1935

<i>Fund group</i>	<i>Total number of funds</i>	<i>Funds spending less than available</i>		<i>Funds spending more than available</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Jury.....	60	54	90.0	6	10.0
Road and bridge.....	60	48	80.0	12	20.0
General.....	60	44	73.3	16	26.7
Permanent improvement.....	51	46	90.2	5	9.8
TOTALS AND PER CENTS.....	231	192	83.1	39	16.9

The records of the various funds is about what might have been expected. For example, it is known that the jury fund in most counties does not require the full 15 cent rate which is allowed by the Constitution. The requirements of the jury fund are light and fairly stable

from year to year. Likewise, the permanent improvement fund is restricted to a very few uses and the 25 cent rate allowed by the Constitution is seldom needed in its entirety. On the other hand, it is well known that the general fund, as the name implies, carries many different expenditures and that many counties have difficulty in living within the 25 cent rate, the maximum allowed by the Constitution. Road and bridge fund expense is limited to that one purpose, but many counties have need for all the money they can collect, and in addition the fund is subject to emergency expenditures such as those occasioned by severe rains. The road and bridge rate is limited to 30 cents, 15 cents of which must be approved by popular vote.

In some instances funds which lived within resources already had a deficit which had been created in prior years. In these cases living within the resources meant that the deficit was decreased during the year. Other funds which lived within the resources decreased cash balances which had been accumulated in prior years. A more complete description of the changes in fund balances is shown in Table II.

TABLE II
ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
231 CURRENT FUNDS IN 60 COUNTIES, 1935

Fund group	Total number of funds	Funds spending less than available				Funds spending more than available	
		Decreased deficits	Created cash balances	Increased cash balances	Decreased cash balances	Created deficits	Increased deficits
Jury.....	60	5	5	30	14	2	4
Road and bridge.....	60	10	5	23	10	2	10
General.....	60	8	7	17	12	2	14
Permanent Improvement.....	51	4	1	27	14	3	2
TOTAL NUMBER...	231	27	18	97	50	9	30
Per cent.....	100	11.6	7.8	42.0	21.6	3.9	13.0

Table II provides an analysis of the relative record made by the various county funds in terms of living within available resources, that is, receipts plus balances on hand. Thus 11.6 per cent of the funds decreased their deficits during the year. These funds are making progress toward a cash balance. In 7.8 per cent of the funds a deficit existed at the beginning of the year, but was eliminated during the year. This is progress of the best kind. Perhaps the most surprising result is that 42

per cent of the funds actually increased their cash balances during the year, while only 21.6 per cent of the funds decreased their cash balances. These decreases in cash balances are perfectly legitimate in any budgeting system, for there is no reason why excessive balances should be carried in any fund. The balances should not be eliminated entirely, for it is good policy to have some money available to cover unforeseen items. These items may not be emergencies but simply the ordinary run of small unpredictable expenditures which occur from year to year. A reasonable allowance for such items is good budgeting, and should be set up in the budget adopted.

The fact that more than two thirds of the current funds were on a cash basis in 1935 is worthy of note. The number of funds on a cash basis is derived from Table II as follows:

Funds on a cash basis January 1, 1935

Number which increased cash balance.....	97
Number which decreased cash balance.....	50
Number which created deficits.....	9
TOTAL at January 1, 1935.....	156 or 67.5%
Deduct funds creating deficits.....	9
Add funds creating cash balance.....	18 9
Funds on a cash basis December 31, 1935.....	165 or 71.4%

On the other side of the picture, almost 4 per cent of the funds created deficits during the year; that is, they began with a cash balance but spent more than the balance plus receipts and ended the year with a deficit. It is also important that 13 per cent of the funds had a deficit at the beginning of the year and increased that deficit during the year. These two groups of funds amounting to 17 per cent of the total were farther from a cash basis at the end of the year than they were at the beginning.

CAN DEFICITS BE ELIMINATED

One further question remains concerning the funds having a deficit at the end of the year 1935. The question concerns the rate at which the deficit is increasing or decreasing and the possibilities of achieving a cash basis eventually. The only test which can be applied lies in the relation between the amount of the deficit, the change during the year, and the amount of receipts available annually. If the deficit is small as compared with the annual receipts, it may be eliminated in one year. If the deficit is equal to a large percentage of the annual receipts of any

one year, then several years will be required to achieve a cash basis. This is true because all funds, with the possible exception of the permanent improvement fund, must continue to support existing services while at the same time applying a surplus to retirement of the deficit.

It has been stated that 27 funds decreased their deficits during 1935. The important point in connection with these decreases is the number of years required to retire the deficits remaining. On an average, the decrease in deficit was 14.6 per cent of the receipts of the 27 funds. Both the road and bridge and the general fund groups fall within one per cent of the average, while the average for the permanent improvement fund group exceeds the average of all funds by approximately 3 per cent, and the average for the jury fund group is about twice that of all 27 funds.

The percentage of receipts applied to deficit retirement varies from one half of one per cent to 98.6 per cent. In the case of the fund applying 98.6 per cent of receipts towards deficit retirement, the tax rate must have been set up specifically for that purpose. This is possible because the fund in question was the permanent improvement, which does not require a rate every year.

Table III shows the number of years required to retire the deficits in the 27 funds if the 1935 results are continued. At this rate more than 52 per cent of the funds would retire their deficits in two more years. That is, 22 per cent of the funds would retire their deficits in one year, and 30 per cent would retire their deficits in two years. Approximately 67 per cent of the funds would retire their deficits by the end of the fifth year, and 85 per cent of the funds would retire their deficits by the end of the tenth year.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF YEARS REQUIRED TO RETIRE DEFICIT OF 27 FUNDS IF RATE OF RETIREMENT REALIZED IN 1935 CONTINUES

Fund	Total funds	Number of years required to retire deficits										
		1	2	3	4	5	8	10	23	40	56	100
Jury.....	5	2	2						1			
Road and bridge.....	10	2	2	1		1	1	2			1	
General.....	8	2	2			1		1		1		1
Permanent Improvement.....	4		2		1			1				
TOTALS.....	27	6	8	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	1

From these computations it is evident that the majority of these 27 funds were handled well during 1935. Five years is a comparatively brief time in which to eliminate a deficit and 10 years is not too long under many conditions. It must be noted, however, that in the case of four funds periods varying from 23 to 100 years would be required to retire the deficit if the rate of retirement remained the same as in 1935.

A total of 18 funds began the year 1935 with a deficit, but reached a cash basis by the end of the year. An analysis of these funds should throw some light on the size of the deficit which might be retired in one year. On an average, the deficits were equal to 4.3 per cent of the receipts for the year. This average fits very well with the exception of two or three cases. For example, the largest road and bridge deficit was eliminated by the sale of bonds. The general funds were the most consistent as respects the percentage of receipts required to pay off the deficit. On the other hand, the road and bridge funds show much greater variation on this point. Likewise, the jury and permanent improvement funds show wide variations. This is perhaps an indication of failure to set a proper tax rate for jury and permanent improvement funds because their maximum rates are almost always sufficient to finance them without incurring deficits. In the funds in which deficits were reduced but not retired a considerably higher percentage of the available resources were applied to the deficit than was the case in the funds in which deficits were retired during 1935.

The foregoing comments have concerned the funds which have decreased or eliminated deficits during 1935. Two other groups remain to be discussed, namely, those funds which changed from a cash balance to a deficit during 1935 and those funds which began the year with a deficit and increased it during the year (See Table II). First let us direct our attention to the nine funds which changed from a cash to a deficit basis in 1935. Considering the group as a whole, not more than four funds became seriously involved in 1935. The two jury fund deficits are not particularly significant because one fund had no tax rate and the other had a rate which was insufficient to meet its obligations. The latter county used only four cents of the maximum 15 cent jury fund rate in 1935. In the road and bridge fund it appears that one deficit might be eliminated in one year, but the other would require a number of years. One general fund deficit is quite significant, but the other is

of little importance. The deficits in the permanent improvement fund should be eliminated with little difficulty.

The largest group of deficits was composed of those funds which increased their deficits during 1935. A total of 30 fund deficits were increased. As might be expected, these are the funds which have the most serious deficit situations. On an average, the beginning deficit in these 30 funds was equal to 42.6 per cent of the 1935 receipts. The average increase in deficit was equal to 25 per cent of the receipts, and, consequently, the average ending deficit was equal to 67.6 per cent of the year's receipts. The median deficit at the end of the year was equal to 51.2 per cent of the year's receipts.

The ending deficits of the 30 funds ranged from 2.6 per cent to 943 per cent of the annual receipts. The largest deficit in terms of receipts occurred in a permanent improvement fund which had no tax rate and, therefore, collected nothing except delinquent taxes. Excluding this special case, the range in deficits was from 2.6 to 497 per cent of the annual receipts. The deficits are more serious in the general funds than in the other fund groups. In fact some of the individual general funds are in debt so far that it is difficult to see how they will ever come out. Three of the general fund deficits at December 31, 1935 were equal to five times the 1935 receipts of the respective funds; five other general fund deficits were equal to twice the 1935 receipts. The six remaining general fund deficits which were increased during 1935 had ending deficits which ranged from 17 to 69 per cent of the year's receipts. The average general fund deficit at December 31 was equal to 141 per cent of the 1935 receipts.

In the case of the ten road and bridge funds in which deficits were increased, the ending deficits were not so high as in the general fund. Only one road and bridge fund deficit would require more than a year's receipts to retire. The average road and bridge fund deficit at December 31 was equal to 29.7 per cent of the 1935 receipts.

Considering the deficits in all 60 counties as one group, the situation may be summarized as follows. On January 1, 1935, a total of 75 funds were on a deficit basis; during the year 18 deficits were eliminated and nine deficits were created. Consequently, at December 31, 1935, the number of deficit funds was 66. This decrease in number is equal to

12 per cent of the funds affected. The 66 deficits existing on December 31 were distributed among 37 of the 60 sample counties as follows:

<i>Number of counties</i>	<i>Deficit funds per county</i>	<i>Total number deficit funds</i>
17	1	17
12	2	24
7	3	21
1	4	4
37		66

COMPARISON OF FUND BALANCES AT DECEMBER 31, 1935, AND
DECEMBER 31, 1939

In 26 counties the deficit situation at December 31, 1935, was compared with that existing at December 31, 1939, in order to see if the trend of 1935 has been continued. This method of handling provides a five-year period for these 26 counties. The number of operating funds in these counties, and the comparative status at the two dates is as follows:

<i>Fund group</i>	<i>Number of funds</i>	<i>Status—12-31-35</i>		<i>Status—12-31-39</i>	
		<i>Cash</i>	<i>Deficit</i>	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Deficit</i>
Jury.....	26	19	7	25	1
Road and bridge.....	26	15	11	18	8
General.....	26	15	11	19	7
Permanent Improvement.....	22	18	4	20	2
TOTALS.....	100	67	33	82	18

From this tabulation it is evident that the percentage of the funds on a cash basis increased from 67 to 82 per cent during the four-year period. It is also evident that each of the four groups of funds showed a reduction in the number of deficits.

A further breakdown of these deficits is presented in Table IV. Of the 67 funds which were on a cash basis at December 31, 1935, 65 were on a cash basis at December 31, 1939. Of the 17 funds in which deficits were reduced in 1935, deficits were eliminated in 10, reduced in four and increased in three funds before December 31, 1939. The

three deficits created in 1935 were eliminated entirely before the end of 1939. Of the 13 funds in which deficits were increased, deficits were eliminated in four, deficits were reduced in six and deficits were increased in three funds.

TABLE IV

CASH OR DEFICIT STATUS OF 100 FUNDS IN 26 COUNTIES AT THE CLOSE OF 1935, AND THE STATUS OF THE SAME FUNDS AT DECEMBER 31, 1939

1935 result	Number funds	Status at December 31, 1939				
		Cash basis continued	Cash basis reached	Deficit reduced	Deficit created	Deficit increased
Cash basis continued.....	62	61	1	..
Retired a deficit.....	5	4	1	..
Decreased a deficit.....	17	..	10	4	..	3
Created a deficit.....	3	..	3
Increased a deficit.....	13	..	4	6	..	3
TOTALS.....	100	65	17	10	2	6

It is also significant that the deficit funds in these 26 counties included several of those which had the most severe deficits in 1935. Measured in percentages of the 1939 receipts of the various funds these deficits were considerably less severe than at the end of 1935. This is due, in part, to the decrease in dollars of deficit per fund, but it is due in larger degree to an increase in receipts in 1939 as compared with 1935.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In terms of living within available resources, the 60 counties of the sample group are doing a good job of budgeting. The fact that 83 per cent of the operating funds lived within their available resources in 1935 is some indication that county officials are applying budgeting principles to government. The further fact that in 26 counties selected from the 60, the good results obtained in 1935 were continued and improved upon during the four-year period 1936-1939 indicates that the gains of the single year 1935 were not lost as time went on.

Judging by the results obtained on the sample counties, the jury and permanent improvement funds can be kept on a cash basis without a great deal of difficulty. The occasional deficits which may be experienced in these funds can ordinarily be retired by a slight increase in the allowable tax rates. The deficits in the road and bridge funds in

the various counties are considerably more severe than in the jury or permanent improvement funds. Considering the demands which must be met from the road and bridge fund, it seems inevitable that deficits be incurred in some years. At the same time, it appears that given reasonably good budgeting, the road and bridge fund should be kept on a cash basis most of the time. The most serious deficit situations exist in the general funds of the sample counties. More than 25 per cent of the general funds examined were on a deficit basis both in 1935 and 1939. A considerable number of these general fund deficits may be eliminated by improved budgeting, but it is extremely doubtful if budgeting can eliminate all of them. This is particularly true in the counties having the lowest assessed valuations. In view of the fact that there is little possibility of decreasing the demands on the general fund, it is believed that the 25 cent rate which is the maximum allowed this fund under the Constitution should be increased.

Characteristics of Migrants

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As migrant America steadily waxes in numbers and importance, it becomes increasingly important to determine the characteristics of those who move about, or from place to place. To do this we must compare their attributes with those of the sedentees, and also with those of persons in the area of absorption. Accordingly a discussion of the characteristics of migrants, to attain the most significance, must attack the problem of selection in migration. This in turn is probably the division of population study in which discussion has been most abundant and glib, established facts and tested hypotheses most rare. But adequate analysis of the characteristics of migrants must also determine the differentials between the newcomers and the old residents. On this phase of the subject almost nothing has been done. It is not even possible to say how the 60,000 people born in Oklahoma and living in California in 1930 compare with the much publicized "Okies" of the depression years.

Definition of Migration

There is by no means agreement concerning the meaning of the concept *migration*. Whelpton has focused attention upon the meaning of the term by attempting to differentiate between a change of residence and a migration, indicating that "every family which has migrated has changed its place of residence, but every family which has changed its place of residence has not migrated."¹ This authority states as beyond question that the family immigrating from Poland to Chicago and the Negro family leaving Georgia and establishing residence in Harlem have both moved and migrated, but he contends that "... families which move between similar residences in similar areas of the same township have moved but not migrated."² In general Whelpton seems to accept the proposition that a move is a migration if a political bound-

¹ P. K. Whelpton, *Needed Population Research*, Lancaster, Pa., 1938, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

ary is crossed, but stresses the need of research to determine more accurately when a move is or is not a migration.³

Such caution is very much to the point. As Lively⁴ has indicated the crossing of political boundaries is not of uniform significance. The great bulk of territorial circulation among rural people consists of milling around in local areas, a well-established phenomenon which he has designated as the "Law of Limited Circulation of Population." So much of the total amount of spatial mobility among farm and farm-born people is confined to these local eddies that only about 53 per cent of it involves the crossing of county lines; furthermore, according to Lively's studies, passing from one county to another occurs as frequently as moving a distance of ten miles. What significance, then, should be attached to moves across township lines? Although county and township lines seem to afford no barrier to circulation, these studies showed state lines to have definitely deterring effects. It should be emphasized that Lively's rather painstaking investigations given scant basis for assuming that a move across county lines is any more significant in such states as Ohio, South Dakota, and Iowa, than a move of ten miles within the county. The socially significant move is the one that involves the shattering of old group bonds and the establishment of new ones, or the rising or sinking from one social class to another. Either distance or the crossing of political boundaries may be a very poor index of this social mobility.

Changes in the domicile, as they have been outlined by Lively, may be grouped in the following manner:

1. Shifts from one room or apartment to another in the same building.
2. Shifts from one building to another (including shifts from farm to farm).
 - a. On the same lot, farm or at same address.
 - b. From ward to ward within an urban corporation.
 - c. Within same village or city corporation or within open country area of same township or similar local subdivision.
 - d. Open country to city, or vice versa within limits of same township.
 - e. Within open country, village to village, and open country to village or city and vice versa in which township lines are crossed but within same county or parish.

³ In a recent work, *Cityward Migration: Swedish Data*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 16-17, Jane Moore has indicated some of the inadequacies of defining a person as "... an internal migrant when he has crossed an arbitrary administrative boundary."

⁴ C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population With Respect to Local Areas," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1937), 89-102.

- f. Same as (e) in which county lines are crossed within the same state.
 - 1) One county line only (movement to adjacent counties).
 - 2) Two or more county lines (movement to non-adjacent counties).
- g. Same as (e) in which state lines are crossed.
 - 1) One state line only (movement to adjacent states).
 - 2) Two or more state lines (movement to non-adjacent states).
- h. International movements.⁵

There is also another aspect of the question, When is a move a migration? One of the most obvious channels through which rural youths enter city occupations and become city residents is the colleges and universities. Not unusual is the case of the farm boy who enters the university in a nearby city. The interurban, the bus line, automobiles, and the practice of hitch-hiking enable him to return to the parental roof for all of the holidays and a good many week-ends as well. Summer vacations are spent at work on the farm. Certainly for the first few years he has not migrated, is not considered, and does not consider himself a resident of the city, but is thought of merely as one who is "away at school." After graduation, or even before his studies are finished, he may accept employment in the city where he has been attending school. Temporary at first, the formation of various attachments may make his position relatively permanent. Urban assimilation of the farm girl who enters domestic service in the city proceeds in a similar gradual manner. When does such a person migrate? For determining such things as age at migration, the decision has considerable importance. Distinguishing between temporary and permanent migration would resolve part, but not all, of these difficulties.⁶

Types of Migration

The term *migration* encompasses so much, and migratory movements differ so radically from one another, that there is little point in attempting to determine the characteristics of the migrants until some tentative classification enables one to indicate rather specifically what type of migration is referred to. The term *migration* denotes in addition to immigration and emigration, which are eliminated when only internal

⁵ C. E. Lively, "Spatial and Occupational Changes of Particular Significance to the Student of Population Mobility," *Social Forces* (1937), p. 332. See also the classification by O. D. Duncan in his, *The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population*, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Circular No. 88, Stillwater, May, 1940, p. 7.

⁶ Cf. Rudolph Heberle, *Über die Mobilität der Bevölkerung in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Jena, 1929, p. 11.

movements are considered, the following kinds of phenomena: (1) the wandering of nomads, a pattern of life that was very important in the life and culture of the Plains Indians, and is still of considerable importance in some of the western states where annual migrations with the flocks and herds are an integral portion of the area's social and economic structure; (2) the flow of population from the farm or open country to the city, including all the intermediate possibilities of movement from the remote farm to one nearer a village or town, going from a farm to the village, moving from town to city, etc.; (3) the reverse of this current, including the back-to-the-land movement, the development of rural homes for urban workers, etc.; (4) farm-to-farm movements of families who do not enter the urbanward stream, transfers that are unusually prevalent in areas given over to large-scale agriculture; (5) the edging forward of the frontier, an occurrence that has been tremendously important in the history of the United States and has only recently passed into the realm of history in this country; (6) the movement of seasonal agricultural laborers as they go from one portion of the country to another "following the crops." A host of the other phenomena could also be included under the heading of migration, especially the territorial circulation of lumberjacks, oil field workers, persons skilled in steel construction, etc. The characteristics of the migrants will be determined partially by which one of these phenomena is under consideration. One could hardly expect that the migrants who rushed into Oklahoma at the opening of the territory would possess the same characteristics as, shall we say, the present-day trailer nomads who follow the crops. Neither is it likely that migrants constituting the flow of population from the country to the city possessed the same characteristics as those moving in the opposite direction. Certainly if they do so there would be little object to the exchange.

Again the characteristics of the migrants are likely to differ as the incentives to migration vary. Attractive forces call forth persons with greatly different characteristics from those of people thrust forth by forces which serve to "push" them from familiar surroundings. The thousands of persons now being crowded out of the South's plantation areas by the forces of crop control and mechanization of agriculture probably possess characteristics considerably different from those recently attracted to the same lowland areas from the poorer soils of the more hilly portions of the region. But the entire matter of motivation in mi-

gration requires the most painstaking study. The sedative effects of deductive economic reasoning should not be allowed to stifle empirical research on this subject.⁷

Finally, the times, or the business cycle, or the incidence of depression and prosperity may have much to do with the characteristics of those who migrate. When no openings are to be found in the city, when the newest employees are being discharged by many commercial and industrial firms, and when the current migration from the cities exceeds the cityward flow, as was the case in 1932 and 1933, the migrants leaving the cities and those going to them may differ widely from those moving in the corresponding directions when the economic situation is more hopeful.

Race

The question of the racial and physical characteristics of migrants is of primary importance. All of course are familiar with the speculation that has been rampant on this subject; but even though "Livi's Law" is a much better explanation of any observed rural-urban differences in pigmentation, stature, cephalic index, etc., than is any hypothesis of selection in migration,⁸ the problem is not without significance. It is especially important in the South where most students of population accept as axiomatic that the first step in the analysis should be the subdivision of the data according to race.

Some of the state-of-birth and state-of-residence data are of significance in connection with the matter of race selectivity in migration. Data from the 1930 Census indicate that Negroes are now engaging in residential changes involving the crossing of state lines to a greater extent than the native white population. Thus in 1930 only 23.4 per cent of the native white population was enumerated as residing in a state other

⁷ Bernard D. Karpinos claims that the theoretical encumbrances of the economists working in the fields of labor, industry, and theory (scholars "still spellbound by the Malthusian and neo-Malthusian doctrines") is responsible for the fact that they "have been greatly lagging" with respect to knowledge and interpretation of the fundamental population changes now taking place in the United States. See his article, "The Differential True Rates of Growth of the White Population in the United States and Their Probable Effects on the General Growth of the Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1938), 251-252.

⁸ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York, 1940, pp. 100-102; cf. P. A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, pp. 108, 113, 116, and 128-129. Unless all the implications of Livi's Law have been related to what is now known concerning the social ecology of cities, of doubtful validity are the neo-Lombrosian doctrines now emanating from Harvard's department of anthropology.

than the state of birth; among Negroes the corresponding percentage was 25.3. Even though the differential is slight it is significant, and becomes even more so when viewed in the light of the following facts: (1) Negroes were residents of rural areas to a much greater degree than native whites; and (2) rural people resided in the state of birth in much higher proportions than urban people. The proportions in 1930 were as follows: 43.7 per cent of the Negroes and 54.6 per cent of the native whites were residents of urban centers; and 28.0 per cent of the native urban and 18.3 per cent of the native rural population were residing in a state other than the one in which they had been born. Furthermore, and in spite of the disturbing influence of the rural-urban differential, from only eight states (New York, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas) had the other states of the Union received a larger proportion of the whites than of the Negroes who had been born in the state.⁹

There are other possibilities of exploring the selectivity for race in migration with census data. The materials relating to the period of farm occupancy that were assembled by the Census of Agriculture in 1930 and 1935 have a bearing on this problem. Data from these sources indicate that race is a factor of some considerable importance in the farm-to-farm circulation of the open-country population. For example, in the southern states in 1935 a larger proportion of white than colored (Negro) owners had occupied their present farms for less than a year, seven per cent as compared with five. Also on their farms for less than one year were 49 per cent of the white croppers and only 38 per cent of the colored, 40 per cent of other white tenants and only 27 per cent of the colored. At the other end of the scale, on their present farms for ten years or more were 56 per cent of the white owners and 64 per cent of the colored; five per cent of the white croppers and 11 per cent of the colored; and 10 per cent of the other white tenants and 22 per cent of the other colored tenants. Data for 1930 are comparable and reveal the same associations. Thus shifting from farm to farm within the southern region appears to be selective for members of the white race. It should be emphasized, however, that the data still await the detailed analysis that they deserve. Were the materials fully mapped it should be possible to formulate a considerable number of significant hypotheses in the field.

⁹ Data from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, "Population," Vol. II, Tables 10 and 17.

Residence

Residence is such an important factor in the determination of personality that classification of the population according to residential categories becomes among the most basic procedures in population study. It is significant that the United States Census uses a residential breakdown as the first division in its tabulation. In relation to migration, it is pertinent to inquire if there are differences in the frequency with which rural and urban persons move from one place to another, or still better, to ask if there is any consistent trend in the incidence of migration as one passes from the open country to the village, to the town, to the city, to the large metropolitan center. Several studies have indicated that the tendency to migrate increases as one passes from the smaller to the large communities.¹⁰

In the United States at the present time the relationship between residence and the incidence of migration can best be approached only through special inquiries.¹¹ Owing to the fact that the state-of-birth data are not classified according to residence they do not supplement the state of residence data in a manner that permits significant comparisons, even concerning the residue of population that has changed from one state to another.

A few studies, such as Frey's investigation of 10,672 Louisiana Negroes, indicate that the incidence of migration is negatively correlated with the size of the community of birth.¹² But Moore's recent study in Sweden reports that: "About 1 out of every 2 persons born in rural areas in Sweden was living in community of birth, while 1 out of every 1.6 persons born in towns was living in town of birth in 1930."¹³ Moore's results are in accord with the findings of Frey's Minnesota study in which students from the open country had been definitely less migratory than those of the Twin Cities.¹⁴

When the 1940 population census carries through its plans for tabulating place of enumeration in 1940 in combination with place of residence in 1935, there will be available materials to enable great advances in our knowledge of the relationship between residence and incidence of migration.

¹⁰ Cf. Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-36.

¹¹ As in C. Luther Fry, *A Census Analysis of American Villages*, New York, 1925.

¹² Fred C. Frey, "Factors Affecting the Incidence of Migration Among Louisiana Negroes," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XV (1934).

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁴ F. C. Frey, *Some Selective Phases of Rural-Urban Migration*, doctoral thesis (unpublished), University of Minnesota, 1929, p. 34.

Age

The age distribution is one of the most significant and informing categories of information that can be secured concerning any population. One of the first tasks of migration studies should be to set forth the significant features concerning the distribution of ages in the migrant population. To a very considerable degree migration is a function of age; at least in some of the principal types of migration the persons who move do so at the time their friends and associates are leaving the parental roof and establishing homes for themselves. Applicable in general to immigration and to internal migration of the rural-to-urban and state-to-state types is Thomas's generalization:

. . . there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants, particularly migrants from rural areas to towns, compared with the non-migrating or the general population.¹⁵

Or, as Hornell Hart concluded in his study of migration to cities, such a movement "is a phenomenon of the adolescent period."¹⁶ The situation with respect to other important types of migration—including the movement from cities towards the land, the circulation of the farm population among the farms of a given area, the movements of those agricultural laborers who follow the crops, and to the ramblings of the transient industrial worker—is not so clear. In all probability these migratory types have very different age distributions from those who enter the current carrying persons from the country to the city, and for whom the information is more adequate.

Thomas has pointed out in a very convincing manner the almost total absence in our official population statistics of materials concerning the important matter of migration. The data for Sweden, which she has analyzed in such a thorough manner, merely throw into bolder relief the glaring deficiencies in our own data. Although the situation undoubtedly will be improved in the 1940 Census, it seems fair to say that our official statistics have largely ignored the territorial movements of population except from the standpoint of the number moving; even the state-of-birth and state-of-residence data, which we have gone to so much trouble to acquire, have not been tabulated in a manner that

¹⁵ Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, New York, 1938, p. 11; cf. C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph XIX, Washington, 1939, pp. 15-17.

¹⁶ Hornell Hart, *Selective Migration*, University of Iowa Studies No. 53 (1921), p. 32.

would enable significant materials concerning the age, sex, occupation, etc. to be determined for those moving from one state to another. At best, data concerning such an important attribute as age can be secured only in an indirect manner, and then only for that residual which Thomas has called the "migration balance"—the uncompensated portion of the migration streams to and from a given area.

The age distributions of a given racial, territorial, or residential group at two consecutive census dates provides a basis for estimating the amount of net migration to or from the particular group; and more important in the present connection, it furnishes a means of estimating the age distribution of the migration residual left in the movement of persons to and from the group under consideration. Thus for a given city, by taking the number of persons aged 20 to 24 in 1930, decreasing it by the number of persons 20 to 24 dying in 1920, and the number aged 21 to 25 dying in 1921, etc., for each year of the decade, the number left in 1930 should represent the number of persons 30 to 34 enumerated in the census of 1930. Assuming that ages have been reported correctly, that death reports are accurate and complete, any deviations between the expected and the observed numbers can be attributed to migration. The difference represents the net balance remaining after those of this age class who have departed are subtracted from the number of the same class who arrived at the city in question. Treating various age classes in a comparable manner and combining the results gives the age distribution of the residual left through net migration, and furnishes some basis for inferring the ages of the migrants. Since death data leave much to be desired, most students use a variation of this method which utilizes the specific death rates by age for the population under consideration instead of the reports of the deaths as they occur.

In the absence of direct data the materials secured in these indirect ways form one of the chief bases for judgments concerning the ages of the migrants in the United States. Used in this country by Hornell Hart, P. G. Beck, C. Warren Thornthwaite, O. E. Baker, Harold F. Dorn, Frank Lorimer, C. E. Lively, and Conrad Taeuber, they have contributed greatly to our understanding of the migratory process. But as Thomas has said: "The most they can show is the age concentration of the uncompensated portion of any stream of migrants." Furthermore, these indirect methods are limited in their application to the study of rural-to-urban and state-to-state migration. Publication of age distributions for

counties for the first time in the 1930 Census supplemented by the rapid development of more adequate life tables for various groups in the population may make these methods fruitful in the study of other types of migration following the 1940 enumeration. Social scientists should soon have for the first time a classification of the migrant populations, *i.e.*, those living in different places in 1935 and 1940, according to age, sex, occupation, and other of the most significant characteristics.

A considerable number of special inquiries, mostly by the rural sociologists, have indicated something concerning the age distribution of migrants, both of those starting the first stages of rural-urban migration, those beginning a period of circulation within the farming communities, and those joining the wandering hordes of the migratory agricultural workers. Of these, the one by C. Horace Hamilton is of particular significance because of the technique developed for measuring the rate at which persons left the parental roof.¹⁷ With materials of the type collected in most surveys Hamilton demonstrated a relatively simple way of showing the annual rate of departures of youths from their homes, and also these departure rates according to the age of the migrants. That the maximum rate for males was attained at the age of twenty-three and for females at twenty strongly supports all the other evidence of age at migration. But the important thing is that a simple technique has been developed that may be used extensively in the study of internal migration.

Sex

In most migrations of the short-distance type, females exceed males in numbers while for migrations of the long-distance type, males are in the majority. Thus males predominate among immigrants, on the frontier, among the nomads who follow the crops, and in the recent migration of Negroes to the North. Females enter the first stages of the rural-urban migration in larger numbers than men; many of them, especially the widows, live out their lives in the small towns and villages of the rural areas, but ultimately the femininity of the rural-urban migration stream has a depressing effect upon the sex ratios of the largest cities. Because of the shortage of women in agriculture it is probable that farm-to-farm movements include more men than women.

¹⁷ "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths From Their Homes," *Rural Sociology*, I (1936), 164-179.

The sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) is probably the most adequate index yet devised for studying sex selectivity in migration. To the objection of Thomas that "the total sex ratio is a composite of the sex ratio of births minus deaths, the sex ratio of the external migration balance, and the sex ratio of the internal migration balance," I would make the following observations: (1) the sex ratio at birth can be determined very precisely from the registration statistics; (2) specific death rates by sex are available and all of them show higher incidence of mortality among males than females; (3) since the data are available for the various race and nativity groups the influences of external migration can be largely eliminated; (4) therefore it is possible to determine quickly, in a rough way, and rather precisely, by more painstaking methods, the fact of sex selectivity in the various types of migration. For example, it is easily demonstrated that migration of native whites to cities is selective of females. Between 1915 and 1933 the sex ratio at birth among native whites fluctuated between 105.6 and 106.5, averaging 106.1 for the period. In 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930, life expectation of native whites at all ages was greater for females than for males. Except for errors in data, by definition the number of native whites cannot be affected by immigration. Yet in 1930 the sex ratios among native whites were 101.3 in the United States as a whole, 96.0 in urban areas, and 107.6 in rural portions of the nation.

Order of Birth

One study of migration from the families of Minnesota and North Dakota white farmers indicates that there is some tendency for the first-born male children to remain on the farm in higher proportions than the children born subsequently.¹⁸ This may be merely a cultural lag from the old English practice of primogeniture, but it is worth further investigation. Subsequently an investigation of white and Negro farm families in Virginia produced supporting findings;¹⁹ but in a later study²⁰ confined to Louisiana Negroes, among whom the ownership of land is rare, no such tendency was to be observed.

¹⁸ See C. C. Zimmerman and T. Lynn Smith, "Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (1930), 49-51.

¹⁹ Carl C. Zimmerman and John J. Corson, "Migration to Towns and Cities," *Social Forces*, VIII (March, 1930), 402-408.

²⁰ Fred C. Frey, "Factors Affecting the Incidence of Migration Among Louisiana Negroes," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XV (1934).

Physical Fitness

Except for the rather academic discussions of a few scholars who have been immediately concerned with the subject, most of the interest in the characteristics of migrants, or the selectivity of migration, revolves about the question of whether migratory currents carry away the "best" or the "worst" elements in the population. We need not linger over the excessive zoological interpretations of history involved in the popular thinking on the question. Dr. E. A. Ross has accepted and stated in a concise manner the prevailing assumptions concerning the nature of the selectivity assumed to be at work. Says he:

"In New England there are rural counties which have been losing their best for three or four generations, leaving the coarse, dull and hide-bound. The number of loafers in some slack-water villages of the Middle States indicates that the natural pacemakers of the locality have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far west as Missouri, there are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bull-heads and suckers.²¹

The crux of the question of selection is the determination of whether or not there is any tendency for migration to carry away from the community of birth persons who differ from the general population with respect to physical and mental qualities.

With respect to physical fitness Thomas, on the basis of studies by Hill in England, Dorn in Ohio, and Hutchinson in Sweden, arrives at the "inference that migrants to urban areas are the 'better lives'"²² Is the evidence sufficient to warrant such a conclusion? Dorn is unwilling to accept the results of his study as proof of selectivity in migration,²³ and it would seem that "differential hospital care and health standards as between rural and urban areas, rather than the selective migration of the healthy from the rural areas" might also be the important factor in the Swedish differentials which were reported by Hutchinson. If this is so, the burden of proof for selectivity of rural-urban migration with respect to physical fitness rests almost wholly upon the study of Hill. Thomas has indicated that Hill's major approach was "indirect," through the death rates, and that he was confronted "with quite inade-

²¹ *The Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1924, pp. 23-24.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

quate data."²⁴ In view of these facts it may be well to suspend judgment until the evidence is more satisfactory.

What are the immediate prospects for research on this subject in the United States? Unfortunately there is little reason to hope that even Hill's indirect approach can be utilized in the United States in the very near future. It will probably be some time before mortality data are sufficiently accurate to enable the computation of reliable specific death rates and sufficiently dependable life tables. Only recently have deaths been allocated according to residence; there is still in all probability under-registration of deaths in rural areas;²⁵ age inaccuracies and misstatements, particularly among females, introduce considerable errors;²⁶ and migration itself has contributed to a very low expectation of life in such "healthy" areas as Arizona and New Mexico, while it doubtless increased the average of life reported in other states.

Intelligence

Highly controversial elements are involved in the matter of intelligence differentials in migration. Only through the perfection of tests not unduly sensitive to differences in environment is it possible to expect that the danger of bias can be eliminated. Not only is there the probability of bias in the conventional tests, but an additional danger is the fact that most hypotheses are advanced by migrants, very few if any by the sedentees.

Thomas has stated in a very explicit manner the difficulties of this problem:

Not even the question of physical selection has led to such intense controversy and speculation as the question of the selection of the more intelligent or the less intelligent in the process of migration. It is usually claimed that this selection operates to draw off the more intelligent from the rural areas to the towns. The evidence is, however, far from clear.²⁷

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93. One also wonders if the British Life Tables and specific death rates are sufficiently accurate for such precise comparisons.

²⁵ Cf. Walter F. Wilcox, *Introduction to the Vital Statistics of the United States, 1900 to 1930*, Washington, 1933, pp. 16-19.

²⁶ Note the illogical gyrations of the curves showing the expectation of life by age for females in James W. Glover, *United States Life Tables: 1900, 1901, 1910, and 1901-1910*, Washington, 1921. T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hiitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indexes," *Metron*, XIII (1939), have demonstrated that these are due to a consistent understatement of women's ages.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

In the most comprehensive treatment of the subject, until the appearance of the work by Dorothy S. Thomas, Sorokin and Zimmerman restated the hypothesis of Leon E. Truesdell that migration to the cities draws off the extremes while the country retains the means. By this they meant that the cities secure disproportionately large shares of the most and least intelligent, while the country retains high percentages of those in the middle of the distribution. The net result of the process, according to these authors, was neither in favor of the country nor the city.²⁸

From the data available it seems to be fairly well established that: (1) migrants to towns and cities receive more formal educational training than the sedentees. Whether this is true of the migrants entering other streams is not known; (2) differentials in the scores on intelligence tests are in favor of the migrants to towns and cities; and (3) persons who attain eminence (such as being listed in *Who's Who in America*) come more largely from the number migrating from farms than from the group remaining in the local rural communities. This evidence has been widely accepted as a demonstration that migration is selective for intelligence.

But there seems to be some rather fundamental objections in the way of ready acceptance of this proposition. In the first place, much schooling is undoubtedly secured after migration or in the process of migration. Only careful research can determine the extent to which migration is a consequence rather than an antecedent or a concomitant of education. Moreover, the school usually represents the most urban influence in the rural community. To an amazing degree it fails to prepare students for life in the rural community, where from the experience we know it to be inevitable that the majority of them will spend their lives.²⁹ The present division of labor among rural institutions allocates the training in urban lore to the schools, and forces the oncoming generation to rely upon the family for instruction in the basic elements of rural living.

The possibility is very strong that those who are most interested in the curriculum pursued in school are also those most dissatisfied with and ill-adjusted to life in the rural community. Before asserting that

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 571, 528.

²⁹ M. B. Smith, *A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, 1938, furnishes abundant proof of this statement as far as the state of Louisiana is concerned.

superior educational attainments of the migrants are evidence of dysgenic selection, extreme care should be taken to determine whether the children who very early became dissatisfied with farm life and indisposed to become agriculturalists do not specialize in formal education; while their brothers and sisters who plan to remain on the farm spend correspondingly more time and effort in acquiring, through the family apprentice system, the skills and techniques needed in the life of the countryside.

The attainment of eminence can be dismissed with a word. Practically all criteria of eminence are overwhelmingly weighted in favor of those who attain eminence at urban callings, and ignore the accomplishments of persons in the rural areas.

The question of scores on intelligence tests deserves much more careful consideration. Even before the appearance of the excellent study by Gist and Clark,⁸⁰ there was little basis for doubting that rural children, who will later migrate to towns and cities, excel their brothers and sisters who will remain in the local rural communities in intelligence test scores. Therefore, the entire question at stake is, Do these tests measure "that combination of mental factors which the individual is supposed to use in achieving some aim or goal in life or the ability to adjust itself adequately to a new situation"?⁸¹

In the past the use of conventional tests for comparing rural and urban intelligence has been criticized on the grounds that the tests were biased in favor of urban classes. The most pertinent criticisms raised are three.⁸² (1) The mental luggage of rural people is secured largely from direct experience, while the city person gets a larger share of his information from indirect or second-hand sources. The tests are based largely upon indirect experience and therefore biased against rural persons. (2) The questions included on the tests have been drawn in larger proportion from the experience worlds of urban than of rural people. Especially significant in this connection are the experiments of Myra E. Shimberg. She worked with two tests. One was the conventional type used daily for clinical purposes in the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston and found to be adequate as a test of "practical common-sense information. . ."; the second was constructed accord-

⁸⁰ Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1938), 36-58.

⁸¹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

ing to the same methods of standardization as the first, but was weighted in favor of rural experiences in the same degree that the conventional tests were specialized in favor of the urban elements. Both tests were given to 10,000 children of whom about half were rural and half urban. On the conventional tests the rural children were retarded a full year as compared with the urban children; on the second test the situation was exactly reversed.⁸⁸ (3) The tests were administered by means of pencils, paper, reading, writing, etc.—tools and skills with which the urban person has daily practice, and not with implements and activities equally specific to the urban pattern of life.

If these allegations of bias in the tests are valid as to comparisons of rural and urban populations, they are equally valid with respect to the comparison of migrant and sedentee types within the farm community. My own life history as a migrant from a farm family, and intimate observation of my fellows, convince me that the process of differentiation begins very early.

For purposes of further discussion, the following propositions are advanced as criteria that must be met before any differences in the scores on the tests will be satisfactory evidence of selectivity in migration. (1) The test must be weighted with indirect experience ("book learning") and direct experience in the same proportions as they are represented in the totality of the farm family's activities. (2) The test must give as much opportunity for the observations and experience gained by the child who uses his leisure time in the fields and woods swimming, hunting, fishing, etc., to make for a high score, as they afford opportunity for a higher score on the part of the child who secures his recreation at the "movies" and in other forms of commercialized activities. And (3) the test must be administered by such skills as reading, writing, etc., which are not among the customary run of farm activities, to no greater degree than they are conducted by means of techniques that form part of the daily round of farm living.

⁸⁸ Myra E. Shimberg, *An Investigation into the Validity of Norms with Special Reference to Urban and Rural Groups*, Archives of Psychology, No. 104, 1929.

The Anglo-French Alliance and the War¹

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The defeat of France in the spring of 1940 caused an abrupt and totally unexpected reversal in the relationships between Great Britain and France. Prior to the French defeat, the conviction was rapidly becoming widespread that the Anglo-French alliance was developing into a permanent and indissoluble union. Almost immediately afterward, profound explanations were put forward, in many cases by the same gentlemen who had insisted on the certainty of a permanent union, to show that the alliance had rested on an unsound basis, and that one or the other of the Allies had not given its full coöperation. The enigma of the alliance is not likely to be settled for some time to come, if ever, but it should not yet be relegated solely to the academic scrutiny of the historian. The problems involved in the coöperation of two great nations in war time will never be "academic" so long as there are general wars and rumors of wars.

I. THE STATUS OF ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

The British and French knew much better where they stood in relation to each other in 1939 than they did in 1914. There was no conceivable possibility in 1939 of one country's being involved in a war which would not involve the other. An out-and-out Anglo-French military alliance had been taking shape empirically since 1936. By September, 1939, the commitments of the alliance were definite and, in general, well-known. If any friction in the official relations between Great Britain and France had continued from an earlier period, the public got no wind of it. Great Britain had assumed the leadership of the alliance and France was either unable or unwilling to contest that leadership. "Realism" and "appeasement" were British policies to which the French adhered. Nor is there reason for assuming that the

¹ This paper was read to the Southern Historical Association in Charleston, S. C., on November 10, 1940.

French were in any way responsible for the British revolutionary decision to make commitments in Eastern Europe. For a time after the outbreak of the war, France's military importance regained for her some of the equality once characteristic of the Entente, though the direction of economic policies rested firmly in the hands of the British.

II. THE GENERAL SCOPE OF FRANCO-BRITISH WAR TIME COOPERATION

Shortly after Hitler's annexation of Austria, it was announced that Britain and France had agreed to have a unified military and naval command in the event of war, and an economic agreement to supplement the alliance. Other than plans for coöperation of a strictly military and naval nature, however, it does not appear that any further details were worked out prior to the actual outbreak of war. But the war itself, in the few brief months prior to the French defeat, brought about what was perhaps the most remarkable series of agreements ever entered into by two sovereign states. The unusual nature of the agreements gave rise to a great deal of loose talk about an Anglo-French nation, or a Franco-British commonwealth, as well as excitement over the possibilities of a nucleus for a European or world federation. Even so, a degree of unity was achieved which would not have been thought possible a few years, or even a few months, earlier.

The agreements for coöperation fall into three classes: military, economic, and psychological. These are of course the three levels on which modern wars are fought. There is little for the bewildered layman to conclude regarding military coöperation. Until the débâcle of French defeat, collaboration on the military and naval levels seemed much closer than in the World War. The Allied Supreme War Council began its function almost immediately, and unity of command, which was not achieved until three years after the start of the World War, was announced on October 11, 1939. There followed on March 28, 1940, the "no separate peace pledge" and the promise of no discussion of peace terms until complete agreement had been reached between the Allies. Efforts to promote psychological solidarity naturally found expression in a variety of ways. Cognizance must be taken not only of governmental attempts to promote a united war morale, but also of letters to the *Times* advocating a union postage stamp. On the economic level, the most important agreements were the general economic accord of November 17, 1939, the Simon-Reynaud agreement on financial and

monetary collaboration of December 4, 1939, the commercial accord of February 17, 1940, and the colonial agreement of March 18, 1940. To complete the picture of economic coöperation, there must be added a host of arrangements between administrative divisions of the two countries, as well as numerous private accords between industrial and labor organizations.

III. ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Economic coöperation between Britain and France in 1939-1940 derived its pattern from the lessons of the World War. Superior economic resources had been largely responsible for winning then; the Allies could still count a superiority of the same resources. But the errors of the earlier period must not be repeated. Competition between the Allies in buying and selling and the selfish harboring by one country of materials needed in the other were mistakes which must not reappear. In their economic policies the Allied statesmen were even willing to take a few lessons from the Fascists. "It is just as well that Germany should know," declared M. Reynaud, "that the coöperation between the countries is totalitarian." The statement was meant to suggest only the complete harmony of Anglo-French efforts, but it could have been interpreted, with some truth, quite differently. In one important respect, however, the Allies borrowed nothing from the enemy: the Allied economic strategy, like the military, was based on a Maginot line philosophy. The economic war was also to be one of position and one of "limited risks." Plans were carefully laid for a war of lengthy duration in which the Allies would neither lose their foreign trade to predatory neutrals nor upset too much their own social and economic systems.

The first of the Franco-British agreements which looked toward the coördination of their economic policies (that of November 17, 1939) had the main objectives of pooling economic resources, of establishing a coöperative purchasing policy, and of presenting in general a common economic front for the duration of the war. Joint committees were set up to coördinate efforts in the fields of aviation, munitions and raw materials, oil supply, food supply, shipping and economic warfare. A super-committee, under the chairmanship of M. Jean Monnet, took over the task of settling priorities, and of coördinating the work of the coördinators. Incidental to the main objectives, but hardly less important, was the aim of changing the sources from which certain British and

French imports were obtained. Not only would this expedient reduce supplies available to Germany, but trade could be canalized within the two Empires, and foreign exchange supplies could be conserved. This agreement of November 17 alone went as far as, and in some respects farther than, any Allied economic measures of the World War period.

The financial accord of December 4 contained three main provisions: (1) An agreement to share war expenses—financial assistance to other countries was to be shared on a 60:40 basis with Great Britain assuming the heavier burden; (2) stabilization of the two currencies at the exchange rate of 176.5 francs to the pound; (3) an unlimited clearing account for transactions between the franc and sterling areas. In effect, the agreement went far toward establishing a common currency for the duration of the war.

The commercial agreement of February 16, 1940, established a common export policy and removed many trade restrictions between Great Britain and France. A concentrated effort to capture former German markets and to maintain normal exports during the war period quickly followed. The MacDonald-Mandel accord of March 18, 1940, applied the new coöperative principles to both British and French colonies, and when the defeat of France occurred negotiations were under way to bring the Dominions into more complete harmony with the common economic policies. The more general agreements were frequently supplemented by arrangements between administrative divisions of the two governments, and constant encouragement was given to the promotion of private agreements to prevent competition between the great industries of the two countries.

Perhaps it will be permissible without going further into the technical complexities of these arrangements to attempt some conclusions as to their effects:

(1) The alliance achieved its greatest success in its measures for economic unity. The degree of economic unity actually attained by the two Empires, incalculably more difficult owing to the fact that their economies were those of free enterprise, was truly remarkable. Yet the economic measures of the union were only a part of the general framework of defense which was itself inadequate for the task it faced.

(2) Economic steps taken for the accomplishment of one purpose frequently demanded additional steps which were at first probably unforeseen and which carried the economic union in directions hardly anticipated by anyone. The union currency policy, for example, brought

up the whole complex question of a united policy regarding the control of prices and wages—a problem still unsettled when the disruption of the union occurred.

(3) The question of permanence for the economic union imposed itself as a serious problem. The agreements carried matters too far for abandonment without serious economic dislocations. If they had been given time to mature, the bilateral trade agreements, the cartellization between great industries of the two countries, and the canalizing of trade within the two Empires could not have been thrown overboard lightly.

(4) A number of the economic measures taken by the alliance were in their actual workings the methods long damned as totalitarian. Cartels, exclusively bilateral trade agreements, and multiple currency exchange rates were unquestionably totalitarian, even is necessary.

(5) The economic alliance of course affected the neutrals of the world. The relationships of the United States to the economic union are not only of particular interest to Americans, but their study aids in clarifying Anglo-French policies as well.

IV. THE ANGLO-FRENCH ECONOMIC UNION AND THE UNITED STATES

Since opinion in the United States definitely and emphatically favored the Allied cause from the outset of the war, there was naturally a disposition to favor almost any measure of the alliance which seemed to strengthen that cause. Traditional interpretations of neutral rights had already been thrown overboard, and American trade with Germany was more or less cheerfully abandoned. Consolation for these losses could be found in the fact that American exports as a whole benefited to the extent of \$600,000,000 during the first eight months of the war—that is, total exports were that much higher than in the similar period during 1938-1939. The Allies were responsible for the increase in part only, but French imports from the United States jumped from \$94,302,000 during the similar period in 1938-1939 to \$238,054,000, France thereby becoming our third best market. The benefits of this total increase, the chief benefactors being the aviation and machine tool industries, were offset, however, by the dislocations in ordinary American exports. Wheat and tobacco exports fell in the same period seventy per cent, and petroleum, fresh fruit and cotton exports suffered. The Allies were importing Canadian and Australian wheat in keeping with their policy of canalizing trade within their Empires; they were buying Turkish

tobacco instead of American in order to strengthen their ties with Turkey; they were buying Rumanian oil to prevent Germany from getting it; and, in general, partly because of the Johnson Act and partly because their war economy was one of limited risks, the Allies were conserving their gold supplies in the United States by restricting their buying to war necessities.

Most complaints of the Allied purchasing policies came naturally from the isolationists and from those tried and true guardians of the interests of the American farmer. But as the Franco-British economic union developed, the State Department became much more uneasy than it cared to acknowledge publicly. After all, ordinary United States exports were losing out to the products of war industries, which would collapse once the war ended, and trade once diverted into new channels would not be easily re-diverted to the United States. The idea of permanence for the union was being taken seriously in many English and French quarters, and the force of circumstances might cause a permanent shift by the Allies from their former "liberal" economic theories. It is necessary to remember, even so, that Washington's fears as to what the Allies might continue to do in the event of victory were always tempered by the knowledge that matters would be much worse if the Allies did not win.

On January 31, 1940, Assistant Secretary of State Berle, in a statement before the Yale Political Union, prophesied in regard to the dilemma which the United States would probably face at the end of the war. "Everywhere else in the world," he declared, "necessity will have driven the great countries to a system of government-created money and finance designed almost entirely for social ends. . . . So far from being normal we are likely to be the last of the mastodons. Is it conceivable that we shall be able to get on without some readjustment?" Many advocates in the United States of the Hull program were beginning to question whether there could be a general return to "liberal" trade policies if the war continued for more than two years. These anxieties were responsible for the little publicized but important memorandum which Mr. Sumner Welles delivered to the French government while he was on his famed European tour. Though the document was of course couched in the politest of diplomatic terminology, it was obviously a pointed condemnation of recent Franco-British discriminatory arrangements, of exclusive bilateralism, of quantitative regulations, and of multiple controls in foreign exchange transactions. The

influential French weekly, *L'Europe Nouvelle*, called it a "sort of profession of free trader faith which condemns all contemporary commercial policy and the new techniques of protectionism born of the crisis." Apparently there was no intention in Washington of publishing the memorandum, but the French government decided to dispose of the matter by publishing excerpts and declaring itself "in full accord" with the ideals stated. State Department officials hastened to announce that documents of a similar nature had already been addressed to neutral nations, and that numerous favorable replies had been received. The official text of the Welles memorandum was not published until nearly two months later, and then only after garbled versions of it had gone the rounds of the European press.

The reaction of the French government to the Welles memorandum probably answered none of the questions in the minds of officials in Washington, though shortly afterward the State Department published official assurances given it by the British and French Embassies in Washington that a return to former liberal trade policies would be made at the earliest possible moment. It can be noted that while the New Deal scheme for a gigantic cartel to control North and South American exports, obviously a negation of New Deal trade philosophy, was not announced until France was on the verge of defeat, it was obviously in preparation while many still thought in terms of Franco-British victory.

V. PSYCHOLOGICAL SOLIDARITY AND THE QUESTION OF A PERMANENT UNION

To what extent had Englishmen and Frenchmen been welded into a feeling of closer unity by their common war efforts and by the attempts which were made looking toward a close and lasting partnership? The bitterness of feeling which has lately characterized the relations between the former Allies has been taken to indicate, and may indicate, that little progress toward true unity had been made. Since so many additional factors complicate the picture, only tentative conclusions can be reached.

One fact is obvious. A significant movement toward rapprochement followed closely in the wake of the war. In part this movement was government-inspired, but in larger part it was led by unofficial individuals and groups. At first, attention was centered on the maintenance of a united war morale, but the ultimate objective soon looked beyond

this to some form of permanent Anglo-French union. A simple list of the organizations which set themselves to the task of working toward this ideal would require more space than is here available. Typical of these efforts was that of the British Fabian Society, which set up a committee to "create closer cooperation and . . . understanding between the Labour movements of the two countries," and to "work for a close and lasting collaboration in the Europe of tomorrow." The French and British Ministers of Education undertook to promote the teaching in each country of the history, language, and culture of the other, together with courses in their common aspirations. An exchange of letters between students, even an exchange of students and teachers themselves in relatively large numbers, was planned. The pious hope was frequently expressed that the two nations would become bi-lingual. There was the familiar picture, too, of the interchange of visits between members of the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies and between representatives of industrial and scientific organizations, all in the avowed cause of a close and lasting partnership. Committees and pamphlets were legion. Even the age-old scheme of a tunnel under the channel was resurrected.

Much of this was of course emotional moonshine which would have disappeared rapidly enough in the bright sunshine of victory, and did disappear in the dark clouds of defeat. History provides little in the way of optimism for the belief that the Franco-British union might have become a permanent one. The forces of disintegration which in the past have beset all *post bellum* alliances would have proved difficult to arrest. Remarkable though Anglo-French intimacy was, the dividing line between independent action and union was not crossed. The list of unharmonious elements even in the union which was attained is a long one. The French complained of their shortage of labor, while the British were unable to reduce their unemployment. British labor feared cheap French labor, and French soldiers felt bitter over the higher pay received by the British Tommies. Ingrained commercial competition nowhere disappeared, and a million compromises were being fought out while the war was being lost. The British found difficulty in bringing the Dominions into the spirit of the economic union. Even in military affairs, later evidence suggests that complete harmony was just as far from being enthroned as in other matters.

On the other hand, it is necessary to emphasize two extremely significant facts. The first has already been pointed out: namely, much of

the economic collaboration was of such a nature that it would have been almost impossible to depart from it had the collaboration continued for any lengthy period. The financial accord of December 4 was pledged to continue for six months after the peace, which in the judgment of Pertinax was "merely another way of saying that it will continue indefinitely." Some of the bilateral trade agreements were not confined to the duration of the war—the Anglo-Turkish treaty, for example, was not.

Secondly, practically all hope in both Britain and France for a more durable peace after the war centered in some way in the idea of a permanent Franco-British union. Virtually all federationists and unionists accepted the Anglo-French union as the backbone of their plans though their thinking scattered in many directions after that. However impractical many of the federationist schemes may have been, a majority of the British and French leaders had expressed sympathy with the ideal and many had committed themselves to it in some degree. At all times during the World War prior to 1918 the League of Nations idea had seemed much more fantastic. There was a definite possibility that the Anglo-French alliance would develop into a broader federation of nations, as British and French leaders insisted that it might. Also there was the possibility of an exclusive dual alliance which would have challenged other nations economically and politically.

Finally, there remains for consideration Prime Minister Churchill's dramatic last hour proposal (June 17, 1940) for an immediate and complete, rather than a gradually-achieved, Franco-British union. Extended consideration, however, is unnecessary. The offer was a brain-child of the moment, though it may be taken as evidence of the direction of Churchill's thoughts. Probably the sole object of the gesture was to appeal to Frenchmen aboard French war vessels and in the colonies to resist their government's order to surrender. The offer came both too early and too late: too early in that it was in advance of opinion; too late in that the defeat of France was already an accomplished fact.

Notes From the Southwest

Plans are near completion for the twenty-second annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association to be held in Dallas, Texas, April 11 and 12. Professor Cortez A. M. Ewing, general program chairman, has announced for each of the sections a program replete with recent contributions in the social sciences. The Association will be addressed by its president, Dean Raymond D. Thomas and by Stacy May, director of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the National Defense Commission. May's topic will be "The Impact of National Defense in Relation to the Social Sciences." All persons interested are invited to attend the meeting.

The Texas Social Welfare Association will convene in its thirty-third annual meeting, April 30-May 3, in Dallas, Texas. The program will consist of discussions on practically all phases of social welfare. Many of the sessions will be open to the public.

The first number of a new Texas journal of opinion, *Today and Tomorrow*, has been announced for publication in March.

ARKANSAS

University of Arkansas—J. L. Charlton, instructor in rural economics and sociology, has received a grant from the General Education Board to attend the Institute for Advanced Training in Population Research Techniques, at Louisiana State University, and is spending the second semester in Baton Rouge.

The department of rural economics and sociology has received a grant of \$5,000 per year for two years from the General Education Board to carry on research in farm tenancy, and another grant of \$1,400 for the purpose of conducting an in-service training school during the summer for workers in the various agricultural and welfare agencies of the state.

Otis T. Osgood, research assistant in the department of rural economics and sociology, has received a grant from the General Education Board to pursue further graduate study.

Estal E. Sparlin and Henry Ritgerod, of the College of Agriculture and General Extension Service, respectively, assisted the Arkansas Cor-

poration Commission in conducting an Assessors' Institute in Little Rock in November.

John G. McNeely, formerly a member of the department of rural economics and sociology and now an Associate Economist with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has returned to the University.

Arkansas State College—The Arkansas Historical Society, recently organized, has received its charter.

Dr. Homer C. Huitt has been appointed on the tax study committee of the Arkansas Educational Association.

The Arkansas College State Historical Society is beginning publication of a series of articles on Arkansas history.

LOUISIANA

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute—Miss Anna Green Smith will take over the work of Captain Fox while he is in Federal service.

The History teachers in the high schools of North Louisiana were invited to a History Conference at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute on November 2, 1940. Papers were read by Professors McGinty, McGee, Mondy, and Van Hook.

Louisiana State Normal College—Robert Easley of the Commerce Department has a leave of absence for the spring semester to take graduate work at Louisiana State University.

Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Kyser made a trip through the Acadia area of Nova Scotia during the summer vacation and prepared a film and a series of still pictures which portray the present life and landscape in the region of Grand Prè. The film, "Acadia, Land of Evangeline," is used in the Geography Department for teaching and is available to the public school system of Louisiana.

Alvin Good, of the Social Science Department heads the committee of the Louisiana Parent-Teacher Association to make a survey of the advantages and disadvantages of tournaments and rallies of the high schools of the state of Louisiana.

Louisiana State University—Dr. Karl D. Reyer, Professor of Merchandising and Management, and Assistant Director of the Bureau of Business Research, is on leave this year to act as industrial advisor on occupational deferments in the Selective Service System. He is a Major in the Ordnance Reserve.

Loyola University of the South—W. P. Carr, assistant professor of accounting, has been granted a reciprocal C. P. A. certificate of the State of Louisiana. He received his original C. P. A. certificate from the State of Texas.

F. H. Fisher, assistant professor of history, has been granted a leave of absence effective February 1, 1941 in order to continue graduate study toward the doctorate degree at Louisiana State University.

Southwestern Louisiana College—Mrs. Minnetta Holley, who received the M. A. degree at Louisiana State University in 1940, has been employed to teach shorthand, typing, and business machines. Mr. Ralph Wilson has been added to the faculty of the department of business administration and placed in charge of Business English, General Business and advanced typing courses. Mr. Wilson received the M. A. degree from Louisiana State University.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute—Dr. Grady Price, who took the Ph. D. degree in History at the University of Texas last June, has been appointed associate professor of History.

J. W. Sanders has been appointed associate professor of government and history. He was on the Southeastern Louisiana College faculty last year.

Dr. Charles L. Odom, who was head of the department of psychology at Centenary College for a number of years, has been appointed professor of psychology.

C. A. Thomas, formerly with the Stillwater Oklahoma City Schools, has been appointed assistant professor of business administration.

The department of economics and business administration will hold a conference devoted to accounting matters on April 22. Distinguished accountants from leading colleges and business firms in the Southwest will be on the program.

Tulane University—Robert W. Elsasser, professor of business statistics and management, was appointed chairman of the research department of the College of Commerce of Tulane University. Elsasser, who served both as chairman of the local committee of arrangements and chairman of the joint committee of the American Economic Association which held their annual convention in New Orleans last December, has been appointed a member of the committee of Educational Consultants of the American College of Hospital Administrators.

J. C. Van Kirk, professor of accounting, was appointed chairman of the graduate committee of the college of Commerce of Tulane.

MISSOURI

University of Missouri—Dr. Sam T. Bratton, professor of geography at the University of Missouri, died at Columbia, Missouri, in October. He was the author of several books and of numerous contributions to scientific journals. He was a member of Phi Delta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Sigma Gamma Epsilon, National Council of Geography Teachers, Missouri State Teachers Association, Missouri Academy of Science, and Southwestern Social Science Association. He was chairman of the Human Geography Section of the latter organization in 1935-36.

NEW MEXICO

University of New Mexico—Professor Vernon G. Sorrell gave an address before the 18th annual Institute of World Affairs, held at Riverside, California, December 8-13. The title of the address was "War—Economic Gain or Loss?"

The New Mexico Business Review and the *New Mexico Quarterly* have been merged into the *New Mexico Quarterly Review*. Dr. Dudley Wynn is the editor-in-chief. Vernon G. Sorrell, former editor of the *Business Review*, will be associate editor. The new publication will have a new page size, entirely new format, and will be greatly enlarged.

Dr. L. L. Bernard of Washington University gave an address before the student body of the University of New Mexico December 19, 1940, on the subject, "Social Control in Times of World and National Crisis."

New Mexico State College—G. L. Guthrie, professor of business administration, is on sabbatical leave during the second semester. He will study public finance and labor problems at the University of Texas.

W. H. Edwards, associate professor of history and government, taught New York University credit courses at Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York, last summer and will teach there again this coming summer.

Sigurd Johansen, assistant professor of sociology, has been awarded the doctor's degree from the University of Wisconsin. His dissertation is entitled "Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area."

Dr. Georg Gerö, distinguished Hungarian scholar in the field of psychoanalysis, will teach German courses and a course in psychoa-

analysis during the second semester through the sponsorship of the American Psychoanalytical Association in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Northeastern State College—Dr. T. L. Ballenger, professor of history, attended the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Charleston, South Carolina. Dr. Ballenger is continuing his studies of Cherokee history.

N. N. Duncan, professor of geography and geology, is delivering a series of addresses on conservation at meetings of groups of teachers in Oklahoma.

E. G. McCurtain, associate professor of sociology, has taken a leave and is attending George Washington University.

"Vocational Business Training" is the title of a new course offered by Professor Eugene T. Schauer, head of the department of commerce.

Oklahoma Northwestern State College—Miss Margaret Riggs, assistant professor of geography has resigned. The position is now held by Robert M. Basile, a graduate of Michigan State College.

University of Oklahoma—The Board of Regents have named Joseph Brandt as President to succeed Dr. William B. Bizzell who will retire in 1941. Mr. Brandt graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1921 and studied for three years at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar. He served as director of the University of Oklahoma Press from 1928 to 1938 and is at present director of the Princeton University Press.

Dr. Findley Weaver, associate professor of marketing and director of the Bureau of Business Research, is the author of *Oklahoma's Deficit*, released by the University of Oklahoma Press in October.

The department of anthropology and sociology, of which Dr. Willard Z. Park was head, has been divided into two departments. Dr. Park is head of the department of anthropology, and Professor Wyatt Marrs is head of the department of sociology. Professor Marrs will be succeeded by Dr. William B. Bizzell, President of the University, when the latter resigns the presidency to become President Emeritus and head of the department of sociology.

Through the addition of recently approved research institute, the University's research facilities and staff of trained workers will be made available to Oklahoma industry.

University of Tulsa—Colonel O. W. Hoop, associate professor of history, has been recalled to active duty in the army and is now stationed at Camp Ord in California. Mr. Donald E. Wilson, who formerly taught at Blinn College, Brenham, Texas, is taking Professor Hoop's place.

Professor Lloyd Rowland has written an interpretation of Will Rogers from a psychological point of view, which has been printed as the text in a book of sketches by the artist, Paul Corrubia.

In addition to his regular work in the department of sociology, Professor Leo A. Haak is acting as executive secretary of the recently organized Tulsa Council of Social Agencies.

TEXAS

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas—Mr. Lambert Molyneaux who has been teaching as assistant professor the last eighteen months will be on leave of absence beginning February 1 while he is pursuing research in population trends and problems at Louisiana State University on a General Education Board Fellowship.

Mr. Melvin S. Brooks, a graduate fellow finishing up his doctorate work at the University of Wisconsin, will take Professor Molyneaux's place. Mr. Brooks has held various positions in research and supervisor capacity with some of our Federal governmental agencies.

University of Houston—Mr. Val Jean McCoy, professor of economics, has been elected chairman of the social science division of the University for the academic year, 1940-1941.

Dr. Joseph S. Werlin, professor of sociology, and Mr. James M. Manfredini, professor of Latin-American studies at the University, spent six weeks last summer in Mexico under a grant of the "M. M. Feld Fund for Research on Mexico." Professor Manfredini is working on a life of Bishop Quiroga, first Bishop of Michoacan, and Professor Werlin is working on "The Contemporary Character and Tendencies of the Mexican Revolution."

Mary Hardin-Baylor College—On February 1, Mary Hardin-Baylor College celebrated Charter Day, honoring Mrs. E. G. Townsend, founder of the Cottage Home System, a cooperative plan for enabling young women of limited financial means to secure a college education.

Reverend A. C. Miller, for ten years pastor of first Baptist Church of Belton and Secretary of the Board of Trustees, resigned January 1 to take charge of Baptist work in army camps in Texas.

North Texas Agricultural College—Dr. H. B. Carroll, professor of history, is on leave of absence for the purpose of serving as assistant director of the State Historical Association. His position is being filled by Professor C. D. Richards of the University of Texas.

Professor Victor Cano of San Marcos University, Lima, Peru, is offering courses in Latin American relations.

Miss Anne Alexander of Bowling Green College of Commerce has been appointed assistant professor of business administration.

Our Lady of the Lake College—A course on the economics of the travel industry has been introduced by Professor Matheus Kast.

St. Mary's University—Chairman of the history department, Reverend Brother John J. Black, S. M., Ph. D., recently was promoted to the position of Dean of Men. He will continue as head of the history department.

Very Reverend Alfred H. Rabe, S. M., former president, returned to the San Antonio school to teach psychology. He replaces Reverend Stanley Kusman, S. M., who is now located at Chaminade College, Clayton, Missouri.

Reverend Brother George B. Kohnen, economics professor, has enrolled at Northwestern University, Chicago, to take up graduate work leading to the Ph. D. degree. He is replaced here by Reverend Brother Daniel Rabitt, a graduate of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

"Texan Statecraft," by Reverend Brother Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., Ph. D., professor of history, a diplomatic history of the Republic of Texas, is being published in a deluxe, limited edition by Naylor Brothers in San Antonio.

Sam Houston State Teachers College—Professor Sam Cruse has returned to the campus after a leave of a summer and a semester spent at Columbia University where he received the Master's Degree.

C. M. Mouser, who recently filled a leave of absence position in business administration has accepted a permanent appointment at the Louisiana Normal Institute at Natchitoches.

Professor R. B. Melton who finished his doctoral work at the University of Texas in June, 1940, has been appointed as professor of sociology to succeed the late Professor R. M. Woods.

J. L. Clark's *A History of Texas, The Land of Promise*, has been designated by the State Board of Education as the basal text in Texas

history. Mr. Clark is head of the division of social science and professor of history.

At the Southeast Texas Regional Meeting of Texas State Teachers Association in Nacodoches last Spring, Miss Harriet Smith read a paper called, *The North Atlantic: Supreme and Unassailable*. In the Geography Section of the Texas State Teachers Association at its recent annual meeting in Fort Worth, her paper was entitled *We Are Not Alone: Geographic Factors Back of Our International Relations*. Miss Smith is associate professor of geography in the social science division.

Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College—W. R. Davis and A. W. Birdwell have collaborated with other East Texas authors in the production of *East Texas—Its History and Its Makers*, a four-volume book on East Texas, edited by Dabney White of Tyler. Dr. Davis' contribution to the work is the chapter on "Education," and Dr. Birdwell's contribution is the chapter on "East Texas Before the Republic."

Dr. William T. Chambers and Dr. J. W. Reid, both of the geography department were on the program at the Baton Rouge meeting of the Association of American Geographers. Dr. Chambers' paper was titled "The Relation of Some Texas Soils to their Parent Materials" while Dr. Reid presented "Livestock-Timber Farms of the Arkansas Ozarks."

University of Texas—Dr. G. H. Newlove, collaborating with Dr. S. Paul Garner, former University student and now University of Alabama associate accounting professor, is completing the manuscript for a new elementary cost accounting text.

Texas State College for Women—Mrs. Mattie Lloyd Wooten, dean of women and associate professor of sociology, attended the Woman's Centennial Congress, which met in New York in November. Dean Wooten was named as one of five delegates to represent Texas at the Congress. Dean Wooten has recently completed a book entitled, *Women Tell the Story of the Southwest*.

Professor Jessie H. Humphries, associate dean of the College and director of the department of sociology, has received an appointment as member of The National Committee of the American Association of University Women on College Standards.

Texas Technological College—An installation of equipment was placed in the department of economics and business administration in Sep-

tember, 1940, by the International Business Machines, Inc., to be used for demonstrational purposes and teaching business research, business statistics, and machine accounting.

The department of economics and business administration will sponsor a business show and meeting and banquet of commercial teachers of West Texas on April 26, 1941.

Thomas F. Wiesen, new associate professor in economics and business administration, has joined the staff of economics and business.

Dr. M. E. Ogdon of the department of government is on leave of absence for the year 1940-41. He is serving with the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Benjamin Bock was appointed instructor in government in September, 1940. Dr. Bock has degrees from the College of the City of New York, George Washington University, and Stanford University.

Dr. Spencer Albright, who taught here the spring semester of 1940, is now teaching in the government department of Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

Miss Tillie Smith has been appointed professor of business English. Ward H. N. Gregg has been appointed professor of accounting.

West Texas State College—Students of frontier history will welcome Hattie M. Anderson's *A Study in Frontier Democracy*, the problems of Missouri, 1815-1828, that led to Jacksonian Democracy. This is a 1940 compilation of a series of articles published annually in the *Missouri Historical Review*. Among the 1940 publications of the North Carolina Press is Ima C. Barlow's *Agadir Crisis*, a study of a major imperialistic crisis with France, Germany, and England, the chief participants. Both of these authors are members of the history department.

Book Reviews

Edited By O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

Hechler, Kenneth W., *Insurgency: Personalities and Politics of the Taft Era*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 252.)

Following so closely upon Henry Pringle's account of William Howard Taft in and out of the White House, Mr. Hechler would seem to be travelling over well-trodden ground. *Insurgency*, however, confines itself to a narrower path and even belies, to a degree, its expansive subtitle. Mr. Hechler attempts only to tell the story of that movement within the ranks of the Republican Party in the Senate and the House which contributed so much to the unhappiness of Taft's years in the presidency and, in no small measure, to the 1912 split in the G. O. P. ranks. Limited to this scope, the story is still a vivid one and the author tells it well.

After an introductory chapter, which is not up to the craftsmanship of the rest of the book in either style or movement, the historical roots of insurgency are traced and found in the "basic conflict between Jeffersonian agrarianism and Hamiltonian industrialism" (p. 16). Through an effort "to graft Jeffersonian principles on to a twentieth century economy," (p. 16), the Insurgents carried their fight into national politics from the hotbeds of agrarian unrest—Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

The events and implications of the battles against Cannon, Aldrich, and the men and ideas they represented form the major part of the book. Consideration is given to the revolt of the "Insurgent" group in the House against the Speaker's powers in 1909 and 1910, to the exciting conflict in the Senate over the Payne-Aldrich tariff, and, with less emphasis, to the position of the dissenters toward the Mann-Elkins railroad rate legislation, the Canadian reciprocity treaty, and the postal savings debates. Much of this has been told before by participants or by writers from the sidelines. Mr. Hechler reveals nothing that is startlingly new. But he does concentrate in a few chapters the gleanings of careful investigation into new and old sources, together with extensive personal interviews, so that we see the picture as a whole and receive a more detailed observation of the struggle against Cannonism than can be had from other accounts of these events of 1909-1910.

The author's portraits of "personalities" are presented in a series of paragraphs giving characterizations of all the men who, at one time or another, joined the insurgent movement. These sketches vary in completeness, but all are objective and are based on personal acquaintanceships or upon careful research, and usually upon both. They reveal, just as much as does Mr. Hechler's narrative,

why Insurgency was a movement of individuals. As the author points out, "Insurgency was associated with the preservation of individual expression. It was a revolt against stereotyped action, and a protest against the use of the caucus system to ride roughshod over the opinions of individual Congressmen" (p. 194).

The reasons why Insurgency, as a group movement, did not survive beyond 1912 are analyzed in the final chapters. Personal differences, changing issues, the failure of some of the rebellious to be reelected, and the Wilson reforms all vitiated the power of concerted action. Nevertheless, insurgency of a sort preceded 1909 and endured after the high tide of the movement. The book closes with what must be a heretofore unpublished observation by President Franklin Roosevelt. In a 1939 letter to the author he writes, "I think you are entirely accurate in comparing the fight in the Republican Party against Canonism and Aldrichism with the general principles and ideals of the New Deal" (p. 226).

Not the least valuable contribution Mr. Hechler's monograph makes to the literature of political science is the crowded and interesting bibliography. In addition to several hundred items, it includes a large section of "Letters and Manuscripts" in which is a list of forty-six collections of papers belonging to personages of the period. Each notation is accompanied by a description of the papers, a critical evaluation of their contents, and the address of the depository and custodian of the collection. Surely this is an aid for which he must many times be thanked by future workers in research on the times.

On the debit side, one might mention a somewhat too slavish dependence upon an organizational scheme beloved by readers and writers of dissertations. Also, it seems rather unfortunate for the Insurgent martyr, Senator Dolliver, "to start his endless sleep in Iowa's sod" and to be "laid to rest in Iowa" (pp. 169 and 181), both within the space of thirteen pages. Finally, as one who has encouraged and applauded the lighter touch in works of this sort, it is a bit dismaying to come across a sub-head which reads: "The Gloved Hand Pours Oil on Troubled Waters." However, these are minor criticisms, and Mr. Hechler's book deserves readers and commendation.

The State College of Washington

HILTON P. GOSS

Mark, Irving, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 237.)

This excellent monograph, the first of its kind, is a realistic appraisal of the relations between the landlords of the Hudson Valley and their farmer-tenants, several decades prior to and during the Revolutionary War. The author selected only those portions of the Valley which were the centers of agrarian discontent. The economic, social, legal, and political factors affecting the small farmers are carefully analyzed and interpreted. The Philippses, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons, Van Cortlandts, and the holders of the New Hampshire grants were included in this work. The estates and manors were situated in the counties of West-

chester, Dutchess, Albany, Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte. The last four contained that portion of New York claimed by New Hampshire, out of which the state of Vermont was carved.

A table showing the ownership and location and size of the great manors and estates is striking. The Van Rensselaer manor of Albany County, for example, the largest of all, contained 1,000,000 acres. Adolph Philipse held 205,000 acres, and many others measured their acreage in terms of five figures. Only one, that of Edward Collins *et al.*, comprised an area as small as 12,000 acres. Of the eight grantees in the New Hampshire Grant Region, now Vermont, Godfridus Delliuss held 537,000 acres, but Philip Skene could show only 25,000. As a result of this tremendous concentration of land, many of the small farmers of New York viewed the great landlords with grave suspicion.

The manner in which these estates were accumulated was a factor in shaping the attitude of the farmers toward the absentee landlords, and that of the landlords toward the mother-country. These grants were inspired by bribes, family connections, and fee hunger. Some of the colonial governors of New York, despite colonial statutes and British instructions to the contrary, made many illegal sales of land. These limitations on the transfer of land were often circumvented by the use of dummy grantees or fictitious names. The land-hungry governors, when they became the chief beneficiaries in the nefarious land-jobbing, helped further the interests of the proprietors. Furthermore, vaguely defined metes and bounds, and grants wrested from drunken or credulous Indians, enabled the unscrupulous further to swell their landed estates.

The landlords were supposed to pay many quitrents in token payments, but these were more honored in the breach than the observance. "What, then, would the man who ran a plow over these very lands think of the exactions made by these men upon him?" The powerful landowners dominated the legislature to such an extent that efforts on the part of the farmers to change the quitrent system were unavailing. The failure of the farmers to acquire land in fee simple, like those of New England, accounted for the relative underpopulation of New York. But it was impossible for the farmers to secure impartial juries because of the intermarriage of the landlords with the professional groups, such as judges and lawyers. Moreover, from 1750 to the Revolutionary War, eighty per cent of the executive, legislative, and judicial officials were actually large landowners or related to their families. The proprietor-dominated legislature secured the passage of laws requiring property qualifications for all candidates, and made pocket boroughs a basis of representation as well.

Poor men occupying land on the great estates experienced difficulty in holding even small farms, because of the number of fees and delays in acquiring and defending land titles. Conditions such as these blew up the storm that raged violently through the Hudson Valley in the decades before the Revolution. The agrarian disturbances were complex and many-sided: the German Palatines were angered by the conduct of the royal governor and the proprietors; and there were the struggles between the speculators and squatters of Massachusetts, and

those of New York. These struggles, it must be noted, resulted in loss of life and property and the destruction of crops.

When the Revolutionary War began, the great landlords on the Hudson joined the Whig cause; they did not want a victorious England to enforce quitrent-collections or to delve into the titles of the fraudulent grants. The settlers likewise believed that they had found an opportunity to escape their oppressive creditors, the landlords. Thus during the fanfare of Revolutionary propaganda concerning the liberties of Englishmen, the landlords took comfort in the security of their property rights. And because of the aforementioned reasons, both the small farmers and the great landlords became allies in the struggle for independence from the mother-country.

University of Oklahoma

RALPH H. RECORDS

Watkins, Gordon S., and Dodd, Paul A., *Labor Problems*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940, pp. xiii, 1128.)

This volume is the third edition of Watkins's textbook on the labor problem which first appeared in 1922. This second revision has resulted in such extensive changes that the authors have really written a new book. As stated in the preface, they have endeavored ". . . to make available for students and laymen alike a convenient source of information . . ." concerning the problems of labor relations and ". . . to cultivate intelligent understanding and interpretation of the facts, causes, and proposed solutions of these problems. . . ." To achieve these ends they have divided the material into seven parts. The first three of these are devoted to "The Nature and Development of the Problems," "The Conditioning Factor in Labor Problems," and "The Problems." The fourth, fifth and sixth parts embrace the "Worker's Approaches to a Solution," "The Employer's Approaches to a Solution," and "The Community's Approaches to a Solution." The final part of the book covers "The Future." The questions at the end of each chapter and the series of collateral readings should be useful to those instructors who wish to use this book as a text.

Among the books recently published on "Labor Problems" this tome is distinctive in that it contains some 1128 pages, only 156 of which are devoted to the history, structure, and functions of workers' unions and employers' associations. Moreover, only 34 of these pages are devoted to employers associations. This constitutes a fault in emphasis that, in the reviewer's opinion, is not in accord with the functional significance of these organizations. Such scant treatment is hardly justifiable, and this, plus the inclusion of many erroneous and incomplete statements in these same sections, tend to destroy the utility of the book as a text.

The errors referred to above are (at least in part) the result of the adoption of the taxonomic approach, the acceptance of the exploded theory of parallelism, and the incomplete analysis of available factual material. The following constitute *corrections* of some of their most glaring fabrications of *current* facts. The United Typothetae of America has not had open and closed shop divisions

for over 17 years (p. 816). The League for Industrial Rights has not published *Law and Labor* since May 1932 (p. 824). The National Founders' Association has not published the *Open Shop Review* under that name for 12 years, and discontinued the *Shop Review* in 1932 (p. 826). Both Brookwood Labor College and Commonwealth College have closed their doors (p. 638). No association bearing the name Stove Founders' National Defense Association has existed for 15 years (p. 828). Belligerent (referred to as militant, p. 815) associations are *not* "... a comparatively recent type of organization affecting the American labor movement. . . ."

The organization of the book also tends to render it unsuitable as a text. The chapters on "the problems" precede the chapters on organizations, and, in the reviewer's opinion, this means that the authors regard employers' associations and trade unions as "artificial factors" in so far as the nature of these "problems" is concerned. This might be permissible, but it is probably responsible for their following meaningless statement (p. 551): "... Washington took the first opportunity to draft legislation which would at least give to labor what was *generally conceded* to be its inalienable right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining without *fear of intimidation or coercion* . . ." (Italics mine.) Just why would legislation be necessary to give labor its generally conceded rights? Furthermore, if these rights are generally conceded how is it possible to explain the fear of intimidation or coercion? Related inadequacies appearing in the text center about their discussion of the "ebb and flow" of trade unionism, their explanation of the passing of the Knights of Labor, and their treatment of the decline of the Knights of St. Crispin. These and other incorrect or incomplete and misleading statements are due to the almost complete disregard of the functional significance of employers' associations and trade unions.

As indicated above the authors set out to prepare a convenient source of information concerning the problems of labor relations for students and laymen alike. As a text, for a course in "labor problems" this book has several superiors, but laymen should find some interesting factual information of a general nature in the first three parts of the book.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

WILLIAM J. PHILLIPS

Botsford, George Willis, and Robinson, Charles Alexander, Jr., *Hellenic History*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. xiv, 398.)

As the title page states, Professor Robinson has both revised and re-written Botsford's *Hellenic History*. In doing so he has produced a book that bids fair to take the place in the present generation held by Bury's *History of Greece* in the last. He has neither written a straight political history nor has he stitched together a series of essays on Greek economics or Greek literature with occasional references to the Persian Wars or to the decline of the city-state. Instead he has presented a well-balanced readable account of Greek life in which art, literature, philosophy, science, business methods, wars, and politics each receives its due

without destroying the unity of the book. Clarity has not been attained, however, without sacrifice of detail. One frequently feels a little out of breath, as when (p. 39) the Unitarian theory of Homeric composition is assumed without so much as a footnote, though we are told that, "the *Iliad* was constructed before the *Odyssey*." On the previous page we are told—this time in a footnote—that the question of the origin of the Greek alphabet, "is at the present moment much debated." After reading his words of warning on the subject of Lycurgus (p. 68), one is a little shocked to find the old story about Solon repeated a few pages later (p. 78): "With a simple faith that all was now well, Solon left his country for ten years." Similarly his implication (p. 131) that Athens had a "budget" may cause some bristlings among the readers of Andreades. But these are matters calling for interpretation and explanation that may well be given in the class room. The same may be said of his using traditional foundation dates like that for Syracuse (p. 54) without qualification. On the other hand complicated details are handled with gratifying lucidity when he discusses the "economic background of fifth-century Greece" (pp. 126 ff.), and when he deals with the "democratic constitution" (pp. 150 ff.). The drawing of an Athenian allotment machine (p. 154) is worth a world of words in explaining how the system of lots functioned. In general one should mention that the illustrations are not chosen at random but form an essential part of the narrative. As one might expect, Professor Robinson gives full emphasis to the fourth century and to the Hellenistic period, ten chapters out of a total of twenty-six. He has gotten away from the older interpretation. Instead of looking back to Pericles we are made to look forward to Alexander and to Rome.

There are, however, two rather serious blind spots in the book as a whole. The account of Greek philosophy appears to me to be uniformly bad. It would have been better to have left out Anaxagoras altogether than to say (p. 202): "His lasting contribution to philosophy was to substitute for gravitation an infinite and omniscient Intelligence, which orders all things," and it is surely misleading to present Leucippus' ideas so confidently (pp. 201-2). Finally, there seems more harm than good in repeating that old cliché, as he does (p. 279): "Whereas Plato gives inspiration, Aristotle conveys knowledge. The one soars above the clouds, the other keeps his feet firmly on earth."

Less excusable in a historian seems to me Professor Robinson's treatment of Greek politics. On page 150 he does refer to the dangerous activity of Athenian oligarchs but never finds time to fit them into the general picture. That this is not an accident but a real misunderstanding appears when he discusses Alexander's demand for the return of the exiles (pp. 256-7) as though it were simply an economic problem, and when he implies that the city-states could have brought about Hellenic unity had the Macedonian not appeared so soon (p. 230).

In conclusion it is pleasant to point out that Professor Robinson has provided his Greek history with maps where the places mentioned in the text are to be

found, an index that is really useful, and bibliographies suitable to the needs of the student and the capacity of any reasonably good library.

The University of Texas

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

Crawford, Arthur Whipple, *Monetary Management Under the New Deal; the Evolution of a Managed Currency System—Its Problems and Results*. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940, pp. x, 380.)

The purpose of this book, as stated by the author in his preface, is "to present a broad picture of monetary developments under the New Deal." In pursuance of this object he gives a comprehensive and candid account of the evolution of currency control from the early part of 1932 to the middle of 1940. He shows distinctly that monetary management has played an important part in the program of economic planning attempted by the Roosevelt administration notwithstanding the fact that the amount of emphasis placed upon it as an instrument of economic control has varied from time to time.

This study is divided into three parts. Part I, which consists of two chapters, gives a discussion of the monetary trends during the Hoover administration and sets forth the monetary issues emphasized in the presidential campaign of 1932. This explanation serves as an excellent background for the eight chapters of Part II which trace the evolution of a managed currency system after March 4, 1933. This lucid exposition of the various laws, resolutions, and executive orders setting up a managed currency system leads logically to the discussion and interpretation of the major problems of monetary management and their results in the eight chapters of Part III.

The author points out that the first monetary measures of the New Deal were experimental and designed to meet emergencies. As time passed, however, the Roosevelt administration began to think in terms of long range planning and attempted to shape its monetary policies accordingly. The pressure of events, both national and international, forced modification of its program from time to time. The system of managed currency which has evolved through this process has pleased neither the exponents of a controlled monetary system nor the advocates of the gold standard.

The writer says that the experience with monetary management under the New Deal has proven the truth of the contention of Federal Reserve authorities that control of currency and credit is not a panacea for all economic ills. He indicates, however, that the Roosevelt administration's experience suggests that the judicious management of currency may serve to mitigate the seriousness of their consequences. He expresses the belief that in the future gold "will be fitted into a managed currency system in which the monetary authorities use a variety of controls to influence the flow of currency and the volume and cost of credit as means of achieving definite objectives."

This well-written study is interesting and thought provoking. The author's clear and orderly presentation of his material enables the reader to grasp the main outlines of a complicated story with a minimum amount of effort. Although

no book written on the monetary management of the New Deal at the present time could be definitive, this one gives an excellent account of it.

The book is well documented. It has an excellent bibliography and an adequate index.

University of Oklahoma

CLAUDE A. CAMPBELL

Franck, Harry A., and Lanks, Herbert C., *The Pan American Highway; From the Rio Grande to the Canal Zone*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, pp. x, 249.)

For those of us who hope soon to be among the first to make the drive from the United States to Buenos-Aires over the Pan American Highway the authors present a vivid and interesting preview of the route as far as the Panama Canal. Despite many technical terms, Indian names, and foreign expressions, the author's style has a swing that makes it easy reading. One hundred and fifty half- and full-page illustrations of interesting scenes along the way add further stimulus to the reader's wanderlust.

The book is more than a Baedeker or travelog, although it is that, too. Starting with a description of the International bridge at Laredo, Texas, every section of the route is carefully described, in terms of points of interest, nature of highway, typography, climate, native crops, flowers, birds, games, inhabitants, local customs, cultures, clothes, industry, history, and other characteristics. Liberal use of large pictures taken along each stretch of the highway add a realism often lacking in other books.

While different from the usual economic geography, the book conveys a clear picture of economic factors and geographic influences as they appear along the entire route to the canal. Although sections of the road south of Mexico City are not yet open to through travel, both Franck and Lanks have traversed the entire route and display a first-hand knowledge of conditions. At many places along the way they take the reader on unusual side trips of more than passing interest.

A stretch of Kunas country south of the Canal Zone, between that point and Columbia, in the opinion of the authors, is now the chief drawback to a complete New York to Buenos-Aires Highway.

Sunday as market day still persists in many Indian towns on the highway. Trading methods are often in marked contrast to those in the States. Native products of the land and of handicraft industries sold at the many road-side markets are unknown to most travelers from the United States. What effect this "importing" will have on future trade between the United States and her neighbors South of the border is not discussed by the authors, but it may be substantial.

Mexico City naturally receives generous attention. However, in many ways the authors' descriptions of Guatemala City are more interesting, possibly because the latter has been less widely publicized in the United States. In the reviewer's opinion, no part of the book is dry or uninteresting.

In tune with the times, Nazi propaganda and the value of the Pan American Highway for hemisphere defense both receive some attention. However, this aspect of the subject receives less consideration than might be expected.

The authors' discussion of the Canal Zone and the life of Americans there makes interesting reading from any viewpoint. The tax-free status of the Zone will appeal to many now living in the States, as will cigarettes at eighty cents a carton. Native pearls from the nearby Pearl Islands sold in Colon may attract others; while the night life, easy living, military activities, or paternalistic care of our Uncle Sam for his people down there will undoubtedly appeal respectively to many groups of varying interest.

University of Arkansas

PEARCE C. KELLEY

Belmont, Perry, *An American Democrat: The Recollections of Perry Belmont*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 705.)

These recollections are offered not as "an autobiography in the accepted sense of the term," but rather as "a contribution to the political history of our country during a critical period." The author's political recollections begin in his childhood, during the 'fifties and 'sixties when his distinguished father was American minister to The Hague and chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Heavy reliance during this period upon quotations from diaries and correspondence concerning events which at the time could have been of no importance to the boy, is perhaps justifiable; but Mr. Belmont's explanation of the political world into which he was born would perhaps have been a greater contribution to the political history of our country.

The author's life spans more than half of our whole national history; he has served four terms in Congress, two of them as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee; he has known with various degrees of intimacy the leading figures in national and international affairs. As a boy he met many of the political and military leaders of the Union cause; at Harvard he studied under Henry Adams and James Russell Lowell, often had tea at the home of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and met Charles Francis Adams. During one of his college vacations he travelled with Brooks Adams across the continent, and met and talked with Brigham Young. He has worked and disputed with Blaine; he has dined with Disraeli, and listened to Gladstone; he was presented by George Bancroft at the court of Emperor William the First and has talked with Bismarck, Moltke, Mommsen and Ranke. He has been a staff officer in the Spanish-American and World Wars; he organized the first Fine Arts Commission; and in between times he has been active in racing, polo, yachting and hunting.

The author has taken meticulous care to be accurate; he has quoted from a score of books and interspersed hundreds of letters from his correspondence, many of a routine nature; but the reader emerges without a single pungent characterization of any of the famous persons with whom he had association. Except for his interest in *trivia*, the author sadly presents himself, and quite

unjustly, as a "stuffed shirt." One wishes that Mr. Belmont had made a wiser choice in editing his correspondence, confined it to an appendix, and given to us "an autobiography in the accepted sense of the term," so that we might intimately know what he knew and thought and felt. Yet we should be grateful that at the age of eighty-nine, Mr. Belmont has retained the energy and interest in life that enabled him to give us the recollections of a busy and fruitful and unselfish career.

Amarillo College

HAROLD SCHOEN

Laski, Harold J., *The American Presidency*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940, pp. viii, 278.)

This is one of the most stimulating of the works of the well-known English critic of American institutions. While there is comparatively little in the book which is distinctly new, it is characterized by the incisiveness and brilliancy which we have been accustomed to associate with Mr. Laski's writing.

Appearing as it does at a time when the place of the executive in the American governmental scheme is so much a question of controversy, this treatise illuminates the problem with sharp and sometimes cynical observation. As usual, Mr. Laski pulls no punches. He does not hesitate to indicate that the division of powers between federal and state authority is largely obsolete.

He declares that the great need of the American system is a unity which transcends sectionalism. He believes that only through the presidency can this be accomplished, and that direct election should be adopted to weaken the influence of the states. The American system, he believes, is in the throes of transition from a "negative" to a "positive" state, and he sees little hope of this transition being successfully completed except through greater emphasis on executive authority.

With vigorous attacks upon the character of executive leadership prior to the New Deal, he declares "The United States at this period can not afford weak presidents." (Page 217). One attitude which will come as a shock to some Americans is opposition to complete adoption in America of the British merit system in the top rank administrative positions. Laski believes that such a practice would so weaken the President in his relations with the Congress that whatever might be gained in personnel efficiency would be lost in executive leadership. Another attitude somewhat strange in a British observation is the approval given to the Congressional check on the conduct of foreign policy. He regards this as essential to the maintenance of executive responsibility but he would modify the existing form of check by requiring approval of treaties by a simple majority of both houses of Congress.

One of the most striking proposals is that "private" appropriation bills in the Congress should be prohibited, reserving to the "government" the sole right to initiate appropriations. This, indeed, is becoming the practice, but such a rule as a definite constitutional proposal would certainly meet with vigorous opposition.

Perhaps the weakest portion of Mr. Laski's work is in his comparison of the British Cabinet with the American Cabinet. In both cases it would seem that he has somewhat misunderstood. For example, (page 201) "it [British Cabinet] has little reason to trouble itself about the impact of foreign affairs upon the House of Commons." The recent overturn of the Chamberlain ministry would seem to deny the accuracy of Laski's observation. Likewise the author under-rates the importance which attaches to Cabinet positions and personalities in Cabinet positions in the United States. The oil scandals in the Harding and Coolidge administrations seem to have been ignored in Laski's tendency to discount the significance of department heads, and he fails to recognize the consequence in American politics of such personalities as Charles Evans Hughes, as Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in the same office, or a Denby or a Fall, in any office.

The work closes with this striking expression: ". . . great power alone makes great leadership possible; it provides the unique chance of restoring America to its people."

Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

O. E. NORTON

Chamberlain, William Henry, *The Confessions of an Individualist*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. x, 320.)

This autobiography of the noted correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor is a sort of personal history without the personal history—an autobiography which substitutes ideas for people. Far from being a confession, it is, rather, a very sane appraisal of the contemporary political world. As Mr. Chamberlain is thoroughly grounded in history and philosophy, he is not so much the recorder of day-to-day events, as the interpreter of events, in the broad, long-range sense.

He tells us that he has been an individualist from early college days. He was anti-war when America was crusading to make the world safe for democracy. He was a Bolshevik at a time when that was anathema to the average American. After coming into contact with the Soviet system, he became its bitter enemy, just when many left wing intellectuals were beginning to praise it. Although he by no means condones the Japanese and their "Chinese Incident," he is not as hard on them as one might expect. And now, as of February, 1940, he is firmly opposed to American intervention in the current European struggle.

Although he hates Nazism as completely as he does Communism, he can see no good coming from the present war. The last one spawned Communism, Fascism, and Nazism. Is there any reason to expect anything better from this one? To him, even an English victory will not arrest the decline and downfall of European civilization. America must, therefore, by all means, keep herself aloof. This part of the book (pages 246-298) is to this reviewer by far the best, and a part that should be read by every American who is intent on meddling in European affairs.

One chapter is devoted to his personal credo. He has a "profound distaste for either giving or receiving peremptory orders"; he believes that "individuals, by and large, are immensely better than the corporate organizations (states, parties, armies, and what not) in which they allow themselves to be trapped," that "power is the most evil thing in the world," and "that civil liberties are a most integral part of civilization."

In other words, Mr. Chamberlain is not only a mature observer and a first rate commentator on public affairs, but an old-fashioned liberal. His book, which is a combination of memoirs, comments and observations on the present world scene, and a personal credo, is far above the average, and raises him head and shoulders above the other reporter-commentators as Vincent Sheean and John Gunther.

John Tarleton College

DICK SMITH

Fisher, Thomas Russell, *Industrial Disputes and Federal Legislation*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 370.)

One of the most significant characteristics of the past ten years in the United States has been the tremendous expansion in volume of federal labor legislation. Formerly this field was considered to be almost exclusively the preserve of state regulation, but the more liberal interpretation of the concept of interstate commerce by the Supreme Court has enabled Congress to reach a number of problems formerly thought to be out of its reach.

It is this development that is the main object of Professor Fisher's study. While he does devote some space to the historical forerunners of modern legislation, such as the several railway mediation acts and the periodical attempts to settle coal strikes, he is mainly concerned with the Wagner Act, the Norris-La Guardia Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Railway Labor Act of 1934, and the Walsh-Healey Act.

Such a book fills a distinct need, and is to be welcomed. Unfortunately, in this particular instance the execution leaves much to be desired. In the first place the material is poorly organized, and gives the impression of being hastily thrown together, without sufficient editing. There is much repetition, the same material being covered several times in some instances, with only slightly differing emphasis. The title is misleading in that the book confines itself neither to industrial disputes nor to federal legislation. The author is concerned, not with labor disputes, strictly speaking, but with the whole labor problem, and he considers not only federal legislation but also a considerable volume of state laws and even private efforts to solve the labor problem.

Several statements which are made are highly questionable. The awards of the coal mediation board of 1903 are spoken of (p. 98) as if they were official and enforceable at law, which was certainly not true at that time. The Coronado coal case is said (p. 105) to be an outgrowth of the Herrin "Massacre," whereas the original Coronado episode occurred in Arkansas, some eight years before the Herrin affair. Moreover, many statements refer to the status of affairs of a

year or so ago, although the book carries a publication date of September, 1940. For instance, the statement is made (p. 135) that the Supreme Court has not yet handed down a decision adverse to a National Labor Relations Board ruling, which is obviously no longer true. Elmer Andrews is spoken of (p. 126) as if he were still Administrator of the Wage and Hours Division, whereas Colonel Fleming took over more than a year ago.

The author has some interesting and valuable material on the part played by the government as an employer—a phase of the problem which is too little emphasized. His review of the various coal crises also has value. But it is unfortunate that the work is marred by so many minor faults that could have been easily eliminated.

University of Oklahoma

J. H. LEEK

Lederer, Emil, *State of the Masses*. (New York: Norton & Co., 1940, pp. 245.)

The emergence of the phenomenon of Fascism has resulted in the production of an extensive analytical literature. But none has discussed its psychological factors with more lucidity than the late Emil Lederer, who was dean of the graduate faculty of political and social science in the "University in Exile." Hermann Rauschning sees the Nazi movement as essentially a nihilistic force in the world which, if successful, can end only in the destruction of the moral fruits of two thousand years of human experience. Lederer interprets Nazism as the logical system of a classless order.

This is a thoroughly gripping thesis. In the nineteenth century, says Lederer, the politics of national western states featured the clash among the strata of organized society. These strata were the products of institutionalized society. Inevitably institutions enslave individuals, for they demand individual allegiance. And without them, individual man exists as a lonely and futile creature. Thus in this clash, between workers and employers, between the military and the church, or the exporters and the importers, the desiderata were couched in the political realm of the more or the less. Compromise was the essential technique for reconciling the differences among the institutionalized nuclei of the national population.

The clashes rarely produced raw violence. Of course, there were strikes and lock-outs, but the interests of the particular stratum forbade the utilization of violent means to a suicidal degree. The dialectic was one, therefore, of continuous realignment and reform. Thus, Lederer argues, if Germany had introduced a program of reform, such as our New Deal, the National Socialist revolution would have died aborning.

By this analysis, the Fascist state is the amorphous state. There is no balance. The mob rallies behind a leader, any leader who has the flair for spectacular promising. For the mob instinctively seeks action—immediate action! If it does not achieve it, the amorphous mass can only inaugurate internecine strife or disperse. And when the accepted *Fuehrer* cannot produce action, he will inevitably be supplanted by another promiser. Under this threat, the leader or-

ganizes his violence towards the end of preventing the spontaneous overthrow of his leadership. The dialectical formula is, therefore, threat of punishment versus caprice of the individual mob members equals order.

University of Oklahoma

CORTEZ A. M. EWING

Gittinger, Roy, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1936*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. xii, 309.)

Although it was not made a state until 1907, Oklahoma's history spans many years. In this book Gittinger begins with the Louisiana purchase in 1803. Under the most limited interpretation of his task, any writer of its history would have to go back to the late 1820's when the boundaries of Indian Territory were defined. There are many unique features in the history of the State. Its aborigines consisted of several fierce Indian tribes, some of them nomadic. Through the process of Indian removal and consolidation thousands of Indians from the East, notably the Five Civilized Tribes, were crowded into it; and complete adjustment was not attained until after many decades of border strife and war. Then, before their perseverance was finally rewarded in 1889, white men had sought for half a century to share the rich Indian lands. Oklahoma's history is replete with movements, episodes, and situations as colorful and dramatic as any to be found in the most sensational fiction of the old West.

Students of Southwestern history long have been acquainted with Dr. Gittinger's excellent study. It came out in 1917 as Volume VI of the University of California Publications in History. The first edition has been out of print for several years, and it is fitting that the book should be made generally available again in this second edition published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

The first three chapters of the study deal with the various laws, treaties, and tribal movements by which Indian Territory was formed and given substantially the same boundaries as the present state of Oklahoma. The fourth chapter pertains to various efforts made from the Missouri Compromise to the Civil War to open the territory to settlement by whites. After his account of the Civil War and reconstruction (a pathetic era for the Indians), the author tells of the coming of the "boomers" and the victory they finally won in forcing the opening of the country to settlement. The last chapter is an account of the admission of the state of Oklahoma.

To the comprehensive bibliography given in the first edition there is attached a supplementary bibliography of sources made available since the first publication of the study.

The University of Texas

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

Sutherland, Robert L., and Woodward, Julian L., *Introductory Sociology*. (New York: J. P. Lippincott Company, Revised Edition, 1940, pp. xii, 863.)

This new edition of *Introductory Sociology* by Sutherland and Woodward is not essentially different from the original work. The authors state that

"Many of the changes which we have made in the second edition . . . are the result of sociological research during the past three years. (We) have tried to introduce these important new findings without altering the conceptual framework and organization used in the original book." What these changes consist in has been clearly indicated in these words—"Important additions have been made, especially in the sections on personality, forms of collective behavior, community and social organization, and social change. New chapters have been added to the sections on social interaction, social organization, and social change. The interaction section has been expanded to include material on the process of cooperation and to deal more adequately with other social processes. In the social organization section, a new chapter dealing with social, recreational, and health agencies has been added."

The book has been further improved by the addition of a set of questions "for class use which are designed less for review than for exploration in new directions of the implications of the text material. A special effort has been made to frame questions (1) the answers to which will require putting together material from different parts of the book or (2) which require the application of text data and concepts to concrete social situations." It is a conviction of the authors with which this reviewer is in enthusiastic agreement that "Sociology will not be of much value to the student unless he can do more than merely reproduce its generalizations in abstract or in relation only to situations already used as illustrations in the assignment he has just read."

Another innovation is sixteen groups of half-tone illustrations, introduced in the hope that they will "aid the student in forming a tie between the conceptual equipment of the sociologist and the concrete social world, and will add something of interest and reality to his study of the subject."

In no sense, then, is this just a "re-write job." There is ample evidence that the book has been greatly improved by drawing on the experiences gained in its use. In addition to the three new chapters already mentioned, a dozen or so new tables, maps, charts, diagrams, and figures contribute to a genuine revision. It is a pleasure to be able to say that this is a good book which deserves wide-spread adoption.

The University of Texas

REX D. HOPPER

Book Notes

The Pressure Boys: The Inside Story of Lobbying in America by Kenneth G. Crawford (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1939, pp. xi., 308) is an entertaining bit of muckraking written by a member of the Washington press corps. The author is frank in stating his bias. He believes that the property-owning group uses all devices at its disposal—some fair, some foul—to defeat any legislation for the welfare of the mass of Americans that happens to run counter to its interests. The material presented is selected to prove this thesis. The book does not pretend to be anything other than journalism; it does not profess to be a systematic work of social science. The title might lead one to bracket the volume with Odegard's *Pressure Politics* or Zeller's *Pressure Politics in New York*, but actually the book touches on many matters other than the technique of pressure politics, for instance, the Dies Committee, Republic Steel's handling of the 1937 strike in its plants, and the personalities of certain Congressmen the author dislikes. The chapters that add most to our knowledge of pressure group techniques are those dealing with the lobbies for the movie industry, the railroads, and sugar, and those that opposed the Public Utility Holding Company Bill, the Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Bill, and the Administrative Reorganization Act of 1937. Judged on the basis of how well the author accomplished what he set out to do, the book is praiseworthy. It is well-written muckraking—documented and up-to-date; it names names. It adds much contemporary material to our knowledge of lobbies and their methods, and it is an excellent illustration of the viewpoint that politics is the study of who gets what when and how. D. S. S.

Youth in Agricultural Villages (Research Monograph XXI, Works Progress Administration, Division of Research, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940) by Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith succeeds admirably in providing a picture of that portion of the rural population which it sets out to describe. The study is well worked out, and the many tables, charts, and graphs should prove to be rich sources of information for rural sociologists and rural social workers and planners. However, the authors do not seem to have exhausted the sociological possibilities of the study. For example, the social processes underlying the phenomena they have described are touched only by implication. This should not be construed as a criticism since these processes lie outside the problem as defined by the writers. *Rural Regions of the United States* (Works Progress Administration, Division of Research, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940) by A. R. Mangus is a related although essentially different type of work from the above. Its aim is to provide a kind of "sociographical" map of the rural United States as a means of delimiting problems for workers in those areas, especially rural relief workers

and the like. In view of this it is rather difficult to evaluate its importance to the regional or rural sociologist. From his indices Mangus derives some thirty-four general rural regions and two hundred and sixty-four rural sub regions. While this may prove to be quite an aid in rural planning and its administration, it seems that it would tend to be unwieldy if used as a basis for general research. Some question might also be raised as to whether the indices selected by the author are satisfactory determinants from a cultural point of view.

H. J. F.

As Our Neighbors See Us: Readings in the Relations of the United States and Latin America, 1820-1940 (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Privately printed, 1940, pp. 317), compiled by T. H. Reynolds, is a collection of source material which reveals the reaction of the peoples to the south of us to the gestures and movements of the United States for more than a century. The arrangement of the readings is in the chronological order of their appearance from 1914 to 1940. The subjects covered, however, are not limited to this period; some of them, for instance, are historical treatments of the Monroe Doctrine from its announcement in 1823. In the opinion of this reviewer, an arrangement by topics would have made the book more convenient for students. The editor has seen fit to let the documents tell their own story and has used little space for explanatory notes. The selections (mainly sources originally in Spanish and translated into English by the editor) have been drawn from a wide list of books, magazine articles, letters, editorials, etc. More than one-third of the volume pertains to the Monroe Doctrine, early and late. There are many items on Chile and the United States, Cuba and the United States, and inter-American conferences. A few of the authors are friendly toward the United States, but many of them denounce its record in the past and doubt its sincerity in recent years. *As Our Neighbors See Us* will be welcomed by teachers in the Latin American field as a collection of source material in English bearing on a phase of their subject that is frequently neglected.

R. N. R.

Inhabitants of a romantic area and possessed of an unusual culture, the Negroes of the Sea Islands of the southeastern coast hold a constant interest for students of American culture variations. The latest attempt to portray the history and life of this folk group is that of Mason Crum, published by Duke University Press under the title, *Gullah* (Durham: 1940, pp. xv, 351). The author is a member of the faculty of Religion at Duke and was born in the area of which he writes. However, he seems to have depended more upon documentary sources than upon his own observations in collecting his materials for this book. The result is that the historical data receives what seems to be undue emphasis and that the actual conditions under which this group lives is dismissed with slight comment. Further, the writer never seems to have made up his mind as to what approach he was to follow. The result is a confused

presentation of scattered bits of information ranging over a wide field, no part of which is covered thoroughly. In spite of this fault the book is interesting reading.

H. E. M.

Edward E. Keso's *Conserving Our Natural Resources* (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Company, 1940, pp. vii, 206) is intended to present conservation problems on the junior high school level, especially to the school children of Oklahoma. The author, it might be noted, was until recently at Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. Most of the chief topics are covered in two chapters each, one being an inventory, the other dealing with conservation practices in that field. The language is simple and most ideas are presented as generalizations, although some use is made of illustrative and statistical material. The bibliography consists mainly of federal government bulletins. The author may be said to have realized the object of emphasizing the importance of the conservation of natural resources, and in a way that the school can understand. However, the chapter dealing with Oklahoma could have been improved considerably by a more adequate treatment of petroleum. For several topics the treatment is more general than regional. For example, although parks and fish hatcheries are referred to by name, there is no map of the coal and oil fields of the State.

L. H.

The Forgotten Gospel by Cephas Guillet (The Clermont Press, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1940, pp. 395.) is a book that deserves more extensive treatment than can be accorded it in this publication. The topic considered is important enough, but the nature of the discussion is such as to make it impossible to do more than to call attention to the bold outline of the argument. As the title indicates, the "forgotten gospel" of Jesus is the theme of the book. The author maintains that St. Paul substituted a gospel of the cross, which prepares for death and the heavenly kingdom for Jesus' gospel of the kingdom, which prepares for life in a better society. This thesis is defended through seven chapters, the most interesting of which is Chapter VI on "Substitutes for the Free Communion" in which is to be found a vigorous if somewhat uneven criticism of "Communism and Socialism," "Fascism and Nazism," "Democracy and Christian Civilization." The facts presented therein must be faced by any serious student of the "ideologies" now competing for our support, and the author's presentation of the alternative message of Jesus merits more attention than contemporary social theorists are likely to give it.

R. D. H.

Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1492-1865 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. xxi, 861), by Homer C. Hockett, the first member of this well-known two-volume series, has recently been revised so as to make it possible to bring the second volume up to date and at the same time retain a balance between the two. Hockett's volume is an excellent text for the first semester's work in the survey course in American history,

for it brings the story to 1865 which point the reorganized survey probably should reach by mid-term. The attractiveness of the book is enhanced by nearly fifty well chosen illustrations, which include a number of full page reproductions of persons, events, and cartoons from expensive plates. There are also small, appropriate illustrations at the conclusion of each chapter. The work has forty-two conveniently placed maps and five charts. The latter present a quick view of the military campaigns of the wars of the period. The select bibliography at the conclusions of each chapter adds to the usefulness of the book.

J. S.

The seventh edition of Robert Eugene Cushman's *Leading Constitutional Decisions* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940, pp. xiv, 354) eliminates the appendices of previous editions and places all cases in an orderly arrangement. Some cases appearing in the previous edition have yielded space to later cases. This edition takes account of Supreme Court decisions through June, 1940.

O. D. W.



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